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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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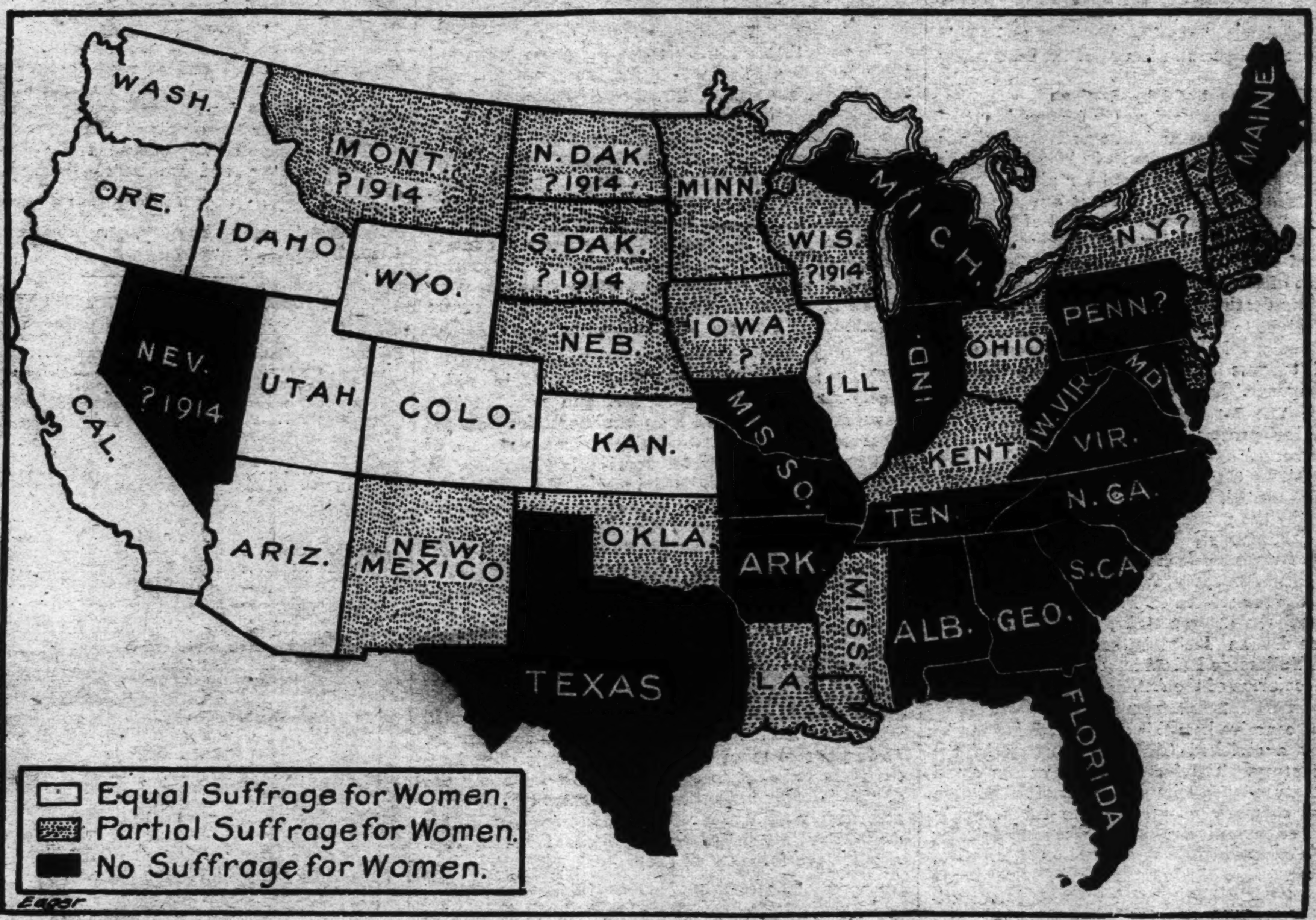
REAL DEMOCRACY IN U.S.A.



In the above map, States marked thus—"? 1914," are those in which the Woman Suffrage Bill has passed through both Houses of the State Legislature and is to be submitted to a Referendum of the voters in 1914. States marked thus—"?" are those in which the Bill has passed through one Legislature only, and must pass through another before submission to the Referendum. *The territory of Alaska (also enfranchised) is outside the limit of this map.*

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The progress of Woman Suffrage is so rapid at the present time that it is impossible to keep pace with it! Scarcely was the ink dry on our issue of last week, in which we gave in pictorial form the advance of the woman voter from the humble beginnings in 1869 to her enfranchisement in twenty countries and states to-day, when we received intelligence of two further significant victories.

A Million Women Voters in Illinois

The first of these is the victory of Woman Suffrage in Illinois, one of the most populous of the States of America, containing the important city of Chicago. We had already announced to our readers in May of the present year the passage of the Woman Suffrage Bill through the Illinois Senate, and informed them subsequently that in this particular State, if carried by a two-third majority through the Lower House, a Referendum would not be required. Last week the Suffrage Bill triumphantly passed through all stages in the Illinois Lower House by large majorities, and will therefore become law, assuming it does not meet with the veto of the Governor, which may be taken as unlikely. As the population of Chicago alone is over two million, and that of the whole State five million, there will therefore be added at least a million more women voters to the electoral roll of the United States.

A Remarkable Woman

It is impossible to chronicle this victory without paying a tribute to Miss Jane Addams, whose name is revered from end to end of the American continent, and who is by universal consent regarded as the most prominent citizen in Chicago. It is about five and twenty years since Miss Addams founded the Women's University Settlement of Hull House, and during that time she has used her position not merely to help the poorer classes in their struggle against industrial tyranny, but also to purify the city from every kind of abuse. We have no doubt that it is mainly due to the thought of the absurdity of the exclusion of Miss Jane Addams and women like her from the franchise which has prompted the legislators of Illinois to be pioneers among the Eastern States in giving women the vote.

Equal Suffrage in Norway

The second victory to which we have to make reference has occurred in Norway. Ever since 1907 a certain number of women have exercised the franchise in Norway; but hitherto they have not exercised it on the same footing as men. By the law of 1907 only about two-fifths of the women of Norway (those in possession of certain property qualifications) were voters, while every adult male had the right to vote. The Storthing has now extended the franchise to all women, thus equalising the qualifications of the two sexes, and adding about half a million women voters to the electoral roll.

Prince Olaf's Advice to Britain

There is a story told of young Prince Olaf, the little son of the King of Norway and Queen Maud, the sister of our King George. When he was over in England recently he heard of the riots which were taking place in connection with Woman Suffrage, and turning to one of his relations, he said, "Why doesn't Uncle George give women the vote in England the same as we have done in Norway?" We wonder how long it will take the wiseacres of this country to discover that the only course consistent with common sense and justice is to adopt the suggestion of little Prince Olaf and to give women the vote on the same terms as it is already possessed by men.

The International Congress

It is a happy coincidence that while these striking victories have been won in different parts of the world, the International Congress of Woman Suffrage should be in session at Budapest. At the inaugural meeting on Sunday last a hearty welcome was extended to the delegates, and an account of its labours up to the time of our going to press will be found enumerated on page 552. One of the resolutions dealt with English militancy, and was as follows:—

> Since the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage is bound to the strictest impartiality in matters of national tactics, it can express neither a favourable nor an unfavourable opinion. But since neither revolution nor revolt were ever adduced as arguments against men's suffrage, the Congress protests against the action of the enemies of woman suffrage who take as an excuse for withholding their right from the women of the whole world the tactics adopted by a minority in a single country.

This was carried unanimously. We hope to be able to give in our next issue an account of the concluding sittings.

The Funeral of Miss Davison

On Saturday last the profoundly human heart of the people in this country and all over the world was deeply moved, as a woman who had given her life as a ransom for her sex was borne to her place of rest. This is a hard saying to the prudent and the wise. Merely intellectual or clever people must of necessity find it impossible to understand the world-wide significance of Miss Davison's reckless self-sacrifice. But the heart of the folk is the child's heart. Emily Davison by her death has spoken the elemental word that goes straight to the untutored understanding of the masses, the word that like music overcomes the barriers of tongues and dialects and speaks the universal language.

The Cat and Mouse Act

The diabolical process of the Cat and Mouse Act, by which prisoners are slowly done to death, is now in full operation. On Saturday last Mrs. Pankhurst was again re-arrested, but her condition was regarded as so serious by the prison authorities that after two days further hunger strike she was again released. Of the three Scottish prisoners who were released a fortnight ago under the provisions of the Act, one, Miss Scott, was re-arrested on Thursday in last week, again adopted the hunger strike in prison, and is again released. In Ireland the three Suffragist prisoners in Tullamore Prison have also been released under the provisions of the Act.

How Long?

We cannot conceive how this state of affairs can be tolerated by a civilised Christian country in the twentieth century. The fact that the women could escape the torture by the simple process of submission does not, as so many people seem to think, really exonerate the community. Martyrs who were fighting for a principle have always had a similar alternative, and if they were made of sterling material have always rejected it. Society has to deal with its irreconcilables, and if its only method is to crush them to death, as did the Inquisition in Spain, it suffers irreparable loss. In the present instance there is one obvious solution in accordance with the fundamental principles in which the country professes to believe; that solution is the enfranchisement of women. It is incumbent on all those who give that reform the tribute of lip homage to insist that it is put into effect without further procrastination.

The Conspiracy Trial

The trial for conspiracy of Miss Annie Kenney, Mr. Edwy Clayton, and the permanent officials of the W.S.P.U., ended on Tuesday last with a verdict of guilty against all the defendants, and severe sentences passed by the judge. In the first place they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, as common criminals in the third division, varying from six months in the case of Miss Lake and Miss Lennox, to twenty-one months in the case of Mr. Clayton. In the second place they were each ordered to pay one-seventh of the cost of the prosecution. In the third place they were ordered at the close of their sentences to give an undertaking and find sureties for good behaviour for a further term of twelve months, the alternative being a further term of detention.

The Cases of Miss Lake and Miss Lennox

So far as the terms of imprisonment as a whole are concerned women cannot fail to notice how much more severely crimes against property, even when committed with pure motives, are dealt with than are the most flagrant and revolting acts of brutality against the persons of women and children. In the particular cases of Miss Lake and Miss Lennox we believe that there will be a consensus of opinion that the sentences are altogether out of proportion to the trifling connection which the prosecution was able to establish between them and the alleged illegal conspiracy of the W.S.P.U.—as distinguished from the perfectly legal and constitutional work of that organisation. In fact, had the judge adopted a less biassed attitude during the hearing of the case and in his summing up, there is reason to suppose the jury would have acquitted these defendants altogether. If Miss Lake and Miss Lennox had not been connected with *The Suffragette*, they would certainly never have been attacked at all. Their prosecution and conviction are therefore really due to the fact that they occupied posts as business manager and junior sub-editor on a paper not of itself illegal. We believe this is the first time such minor officials have been dealt with, and their case demands the attention of the journalistic world.

The Costs for the Prosecution

As to the infliction of a fraction of the costs of the prosecution against each of the defendants we reiterate the protest which we have already made in these columns with regard to the similar treatment of Mr. Pethick Lawrence. We hold that the law passed in 1908, which first made this possible, was thoroughly unjust in view of the fact that it gives no reciprocal right to a successful defence to recover costs from the Crown. And we consider that its special application to political offences is a mere form of executive tyranny which has to be strenuously resisted by every means available.

The Hunger Strike

We note that all the women prisoners expressed their intention of adopting the hunger strike, and that in this connection Mr. Justice Phillimore committed himself to the uncalled-for assertion in advance that, so far as the ringleaders were concerned at any rate, he should advise the Home Secretary to use the full rigour of the law. There is therefore only too good reason to suppose that the Cat and Mouse Act will be put into force in its most revolting form. Mr. Clayton did not express his intentions, and it is therefore to be presumed that he will serve his whole sentence of twenty-one months in prison unless public opinion asserts itself to secure his release at a much earlier date.

Another window-smashing action

The second consolidated civil action, in which ninety-three plaintiffs sued Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst for damages incurred in the window-smashing demonstrations of 1911 and 1912, came on for hearing last Monday. A sum of £1,688 was claimed in all. Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst had not put in any appearance, and were not represented. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence were represented by Mr. Henle, who stated that after the full hearing of a somewhat similar case a week previously his clients did not see that any good purpose would be served by having the present case tried at length, and that they were willing to submit to judgment for £1,432 11s. 8d., an amount arrived at by deducting from the total claims a sum of about £250 in respect of damaged windows as to which there was no evidence that they were broken by anyone connected with the W.S.P.U. Judgment was given accordingly. As in the case reported last week, the plaintiffs have the right to select to obtain payment from any one of the defendants for the whole amount; they have accordingly selected Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and have made application to his solicitors for this sum. Application for costs will also follow.

"Malingering" Among Women

As we have foreseen from the first, the Insurance Act has not worked out exactly as the wiseacres who planned it in their studies supposed that it would. Particularly has this happened in the case of women. In some walks of life illness among women has proved to be far more serious and more prolonged than the estimates allowed for. But this does not justify the promoters of the Act, without a tittle of direct evidence, in alleging that women have been guilty of malingering. Rather it proves the heroic patience of women in the past who, in spite of suffering and illness, have continued bravely at their task. This silent heroism is at last being brought to light. We shall have more to say on the subject next week.

Items of Interest

An important secession has occurred from the Liberal ranks in the North of England, where Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown has resigned the presidency of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations, as a protest against their unsatisfactory attitude towards Woman Suffrage, which she considers "an essential part of Liberalism," and "the greatest of all reforms at the present time."

The great pilgrimage organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in which women from all parts of the country are taking part, commenced on Wednesday last. It will end up with a great demonstration in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 26.

Two members of the Freedom League were arrested on Tuesday night for trying to hold a meeting outside the House of Commons to protest against the treatment of two of their comrades by the Marlborough Street police magistrate as reported in our last issue. They were sentenced to a fine of 40s. or to fourteen days' imprisonment.

A special article by Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the well-known author of "On the Face of the Waters" and other books of world-wide renown, will be published in our next issue.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

The Reunion of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship on July 4 promises to be a great occasion. We have engaged the large Portman Rooms, and are expecting a very large number of Fellows and friends. From 8 to 8.30 a reception will be held; at 8.30 there will be speeches from Miss Mary Neal, the Rev. F. M. Green, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. *Admission is by ticket only.* Tickets have been sent through the post to all the Fellows.

The New Badge

By July 4 we hope to have the new badges ready. A perfectly simple design has been chosen for the first Fellowship badge. It is a brooch with a bar of white over a bar of purple and a triangular corner bar of crimson red, with the one word "Fellowship" written in white letters upon it. It has been worked out at a very low cost, and will be sold for threepence at the Portman Rooms or fourpence (post free) at Red Lion Court.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Several more helpers are still wanted to sell the paper at the various pitches, &c. Four have come forward this week, three have volunteered to sell the paper in the street and at meetings, and a fourth who, although occupied with a business all the week, buys copies from a newsagent and manages to sell a great many over the counter to her customers.

This is a splendid way of making the paper known to fresh readers, and we hope others will be encouraged to do the same.

Organiser attends at the office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, every Thursday, 10.30 to 1, and at other times if required.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To June 14, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	525	3	5	Mrs. Eyres	0	2	0
Per Mrs. Dodgson (Profits on "Votes" for May)	0	11	0	Miss D. Birks Ward (In memory of Miss Davison)	0	5	0
Miss F. Caley	0	2	6	Mrs. Mansell Pleydell	0	10	0
Mrs. Worthington ..	0	5	0	Miss M. Robson....	0	5	0
Mrs. Hicks	0	5	0	Miss M. C. W. Cumber...............	0	5	0
Miss Hicks	0	5	0	Miss F. M. Wrigley	0	2	6
Miss A. Hart	0	2	0	Miss C. L. Thurgood	0	2	6
Miss D. F. Bellhouse	0	5	0	Mrs. R. Scott	0	5	0
Miss M. F. Tongue ..	0	10	0	Miss Turnbull......	0	5	0
Mrs. Harris.........	0	1	0	Miss I. Stewart	0	2	6
Miss Ansell	0	5	0	Mrs. Weller........	0	8	2
Miss E. L. Jessop ..	0	1	0				
Dr. C. Fraser	0	5	0	Total	531	14	7
Mrs. Eglinton	1	1	0				

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EMILY WILDING DAVISON

> ". . . . I think some great event
> Hath pusht its spirit forward of its time
> To stand here, quietly waiting, into my mind,
> Inflicting its strange want of me, and ready
> To fetch my heart, and ready to take my hand
> And lead me away." . . .

So, one by one, till they number a mighty army, the noblest and best of England's women are taken by the hand, and led forward by the spirit of this great event, the Woman's Movement. Some the spirit leads away to work among the White Slaves, some among the crushed and starved sweated workers, hundreds of others it has led to prison and torture, and some to death.

"Is it Death?" the poet goes on. "It is some marvellous thing."

And truly it may be said of the spirit possessing Emily Wilding Davison, "it is some marvellous thing." So "marvellous" that the little asps of criticism and blame find themselves crushed and silenced beneath the foot of this woman treading her way to death in a spirit of such high courage and utter self-sacrifice.

Like the Roman of olden days, she believed that a human life must be sacrificed to make sure the foundations of the New City; that city in which men and women shall live free, clean, happy lives, equal, not only in the sight of the God who so created them, but in the sight of man, who in debasing the mother of the race debases of necessity the race itself. She gave her life possessed with the idea of this mighty demand. She saw neither to the right nor to the left of her, but like the Roman flung herself headlong into the jaws of death, that she might by this oblation be the means of salvation to others. Whether her reasoning was right or wrong seems to me a matter of small importance, because the spirit manifested by such actions so entirely overshadows the actions themselves. And this high spirit carries inevitably the palm of victory, ultimate victory, in its hand, whether the choice of the way of death be wise or foolish, approved or disapproved.

That the world pays tribute to the spirit of her action, in spite of the action itself—than which one more unpopular in this country cannot be imagined—was strikingly manifested last Saturday. Emily Davison's funeral might have been that of a naval or military hero. The dense crowds of men and women who lined the streets from Victoria to Bloomsbury showed faces of solemn reverence, of sympathy, and of a quiet wonder. Even those who a week before had been ready to execrate the Suffragette for her reckless deed were hushed and still as her coffin passed, escorted by her sorrowing companions and followed by three thousand mourners; they reflected that after all she died for her Cause. No one can do more, and how many among us are ready to do as much, whatever our cause? For our nearest and dearest most of us would die, but for a cause, and that the cause of the oppressed, of those that have no backing, no reward or advancement to offer, against whom practically all that stands for government, power, and authority are ranged, how many, say, of those spectators at the Derby would be ready to die?

And such a death! No woman of the fine intelligence and imagination possessed by Emily Davison can have failed to realise that in attempting to interfere with the race of the year she would have as much chance of mercy from an English crowd as one who tried to rob a tiger of its food. Had she not been knocked down and to all appearance killed outright, she ran every chance of being torn limb from limb by the infuriated spectators, as was in fact at first reported. The motionless form and blanched face alone held them at bay But what if she had shown some signs of life?

To face such possibilities unflinchingly and with calm deliberation requires, in truth, heroic courage. The soldier goes into battle surrounded by his comrades, his heart warmed by the cheers that sent him off, the prayers of his friends and countrymen at home, the "sweet and seemly" glory of dying for his country if death meets him, rewards and honours if he survives. She knew that if she survived her desperate challenge to death it would be to face again the imprisonment and torture meted out so unremittingly by the Liberal Government of this country to the women demanding justice.

Yet her deed of self-sacrificing love will live and bear fruit. For such deeds, striking deep into the hearts of men and women, cannot die, and the soul finds its immediate reward in further light and love.

To quote again from Mr. Abercrombie's wonderful poem of Vashti, that Babylonian martyr to a lofty ideal of womanhood in advance of her age :—

> ". . . I know a mind
> That has been feeling for long time
> The greatness of some hovering event
> Poised over life, will rejoice marvellously
> When the event falls, suddenly seizing life;
> Like faintness when a thunderstorm comes down,
> That turns to exulting when the lightning flares,
> Shattering houses, making men afraid.
> This is my event: I am its choice.
> Yea, not as a storm, but as an eagle now
> It swoops on me; and though I am its prey,
> I am lifted by majestic wings, my soul
> Is clothed in swiftness of a mighty soaring."

So has the freed soul of Emily Davison swiftly soared, we may be sure, to where she can with new powers and with increased vision still serve the sisters, aye, and brothers too, for their Cause cannot be divided, whom she loved even unto death.

Constance Elizabeth Maud.

MESSAGE FROM CAPTAIN DAVISON

We are glad to have the opportunity of publishing the following communication by special request of Captain Davison, brother of the late Emily Wilding Davison :—

"Captain Davison and relatives desire to tender heartfelt thanks to everyone who took any part in organising the funeral arrangements for Emily Wilding Davison. The loyalty and devotion shown in special instances was very marked, and most profoundly touching. No words could adequately express the intense appreciation of each proof of affection and respect manifested by thousands of fellow-workers in carrying through the last ceremonies in connection with their Comrade. The beautiful floral tributes from each separate body of members of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, W.S.P.U., and from numerous unknown sympathisers, were among the many outward signs of the living power of the dead. Though the blossoms will fade, the memory of the unspeakable kindness and sympathy of all classes united in this act of homage can never perish."

MRS. MEYNELL'S POEMS*

Seventy-six poems, occupying only 117 pages of type, may seem to some a scanty harvest for the major part of a poet's lifetime. There have been poets who were carelessly content to write but little, indolent in the use of their gifts, or whose thread of inspiration was too thin to give a tissue to life. But no student of poetry would ever allow indolence or poverty of inspiration to account for this slender output of verse which Mrs. Meynell now gives to us under the title of "Collected Poems."* In a certain sense their exceeding brevity is a sign of the highest intellectual industry, standing as it does for that economy which is the basis of all that is fine in art. These brief poems, so clear, so succinct, so deep, and so full of thought, are the very opposite to those light offshoots of the poet's brain which go by the name of "occasional pieces." The slight emotion which in these days so many of us find an excuse for rhyme, the inclination scarcely more deep than that which draws the facile pianist to the keys, were never sufficient incentive for the poems printed here. It is curious indeed to find in work so authentic a note almost of reluctance, as though upon each occasion the essential thought found a difficulty—not in making itself expressive to the author's mind, but in becoming public property. And probably the reason is that all these poems are essentially sacramental in character, and so have about them a certain sacred intimacy which finds in secrecy its natural refuge.

This beautiful inwardness runs through all Mrs. Meynell's writings. We find it in the famous early sonnet, "Renouncement," which won for the young writer the praise of Rossetti; we find it in the "Letter from a girl to her own old age," of which Ruskin said it was "the finest thing he had yet seen or felt in modern verse"; and we find it again in that most lyrical and sweet of all her later poems, "The Shepherdess"—the one to which the word "dainty" might most appropriately be applied.

But the daintiness is of a spiritual kind, a fastidious purity of thought and expression, as though, even in the spheres, angelic things had a gracious and playful mannerism. Note how easily in the opening lines the lyric combines serene gravity with grace :—

> She walks—the lady of my delight—
> A shepherdess of sheep.
> Her flocks are thoughts. She keeps them white;
> She guards them from the steep;
> She feeds them on the fragrant height,
> And folds them in for sleep.

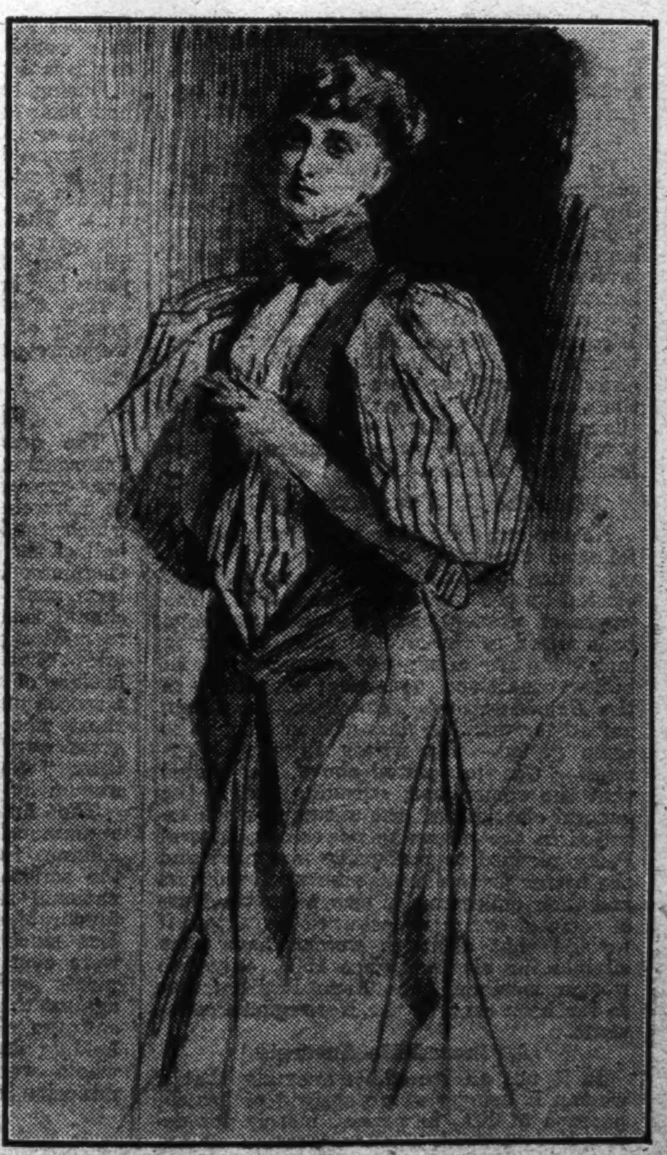
Never was "maiden meditation" more beautifully expressed. In definition we divide fancy, quite rightly, from imagination; but throughout this poem the two are most tenderly blended, and from the playful touch of the one and the grave touch of the other, coming so harmoniously together, we get an effect dewlike and tremulous in its radiance, a thing equally compounded of earth and of heaven.

Is it not significant that this poem, so delicate and tender, is one of the lightest which the book contains? Others give a deeper impress both of thought and of sorrow; and often under the manner of the recluse and cloistral spirit we find a message passionately modern and social. In one poem, for instance, we get expressed that new humility of motherhood, so newly sprung in our midst, which recognises in the mystery of the child's mind a latent wisdom greater than its own; in another the terrible and deadly responsibility of parentage—of those who by cruel and unfit procreation are the slayers of race; in another the rebuke of an Anti-Suffragist, where the rod that is laid benevolently across his back is taken not from modern conditions but from mediæval history. But the deepest things in the book—and this is its highest praise—are those which deal with the deepest subjects, with the mysteries of faith and the unseen world; and to many it may come as a surprise to find such audacious and adventurous speculation on things spiritual in one who belongs to a church which is not generally credited with allowing latitude of thought to its members. We give in conclusion, as an illustration, the last four verses from a poem entitled "Christ in the Universe" :—

> No planet knows that this,
> Our wayside planet, carrying land and wave,
> Love and life multiplied, and pain and bliss,
> Bears, as chief treasure, one forsaken grave.
>
> Nor, in our little day,
> May His devices with the heavens be guessed,
> His pilgrimage to thread the Milky Way,
> Or His bestowals there be manifest.
>
> But in the eternities
> Doubtless we shall compare together, hear
> A million alien Gospels, in what guise
> He trod the Pleiades, the Lyre, the Bear.
>
> O, be prepared, my soul!
> To read the inconceivable, to scan
> The million forms of God those stars unroll
> When, in our turn, we show them to a Man.

This is but one of several poems of kindred subject, all alike in their fine quality. They require thought for their reading, and they repay it abundantly.

L. H.



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ALICE MEYNELL.

From a drawing by John S. Sargent, R.A.

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* "Collected Poems by Alice Meynell." (London: Burns and Oates. 5s. net.)

THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

Victories in Illinois and Norway—Conference at Budapest

The week has been marked by signs of activity in the Suffrage movement on both sides of the globe. In America, on Wednesday in last week, the Woman Suffrage Bill, which was recently passed by the Illinois State Senate, passed the House of Representatives by a constitutional majority. Recording this victory, the *Times* correspondent adds: "Illinois is one of the largest States in the Union, and the only State east of the Mississippi that, as yet, has joined the movement. Its action is held to counteract the rebuff received lately in Ohio and Michigan, and to justify hopes that New York and perhaps the other great eastern States may follow suit. If Illinois be included women now have the vote in nine States, and there is a bare possibility that the Federal Congress may take action in favour of a comprehensive suffrage reform." As a matter of fact, Illinois makes the *tenth* Free State of the Union. (See our last week's cartoon.)

There is not the least doubt that the passage of the Bill through the Legislature of the State that includes the City of Chicago will have the greatest effect both upon the fortunes of the same Bill in New York State, and upon the forthcoming struggle in Congress over the constitutional amendment enfranchising women which has already been favourably reported on by the Senate Committee, and was submitted by the Committee to the Senate, also in last week, but has yet to be endorsed by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and then by two-thirds of the State Legislatures. Woman's Suffrage in America has, in fact, resolved itself into a race between the State Legislatures and Congress—between a piecemeal and a wholesale enfranchisement of women. The recent victory in Illinois will help both competitors by shortening the race and heartening those who have entered for it.

THE VICTORY IN NORWAY

On the same day that victory was won in Illinois, the Storthing at Christiania unanimously resolved to extend the woman's vote so that all women should have the right to vote in Parliamentary elections without regard to the amount of their income tax. This is a twofold gain, for, while increasing the woman's vote, it also effects the immeasurably greater reform of placing women on a political equality with men. Until now, while Norwegian men have enjoyed manhood suffrage, Norwegian women have been limited to a fancy franchise which was conferred on them in 1907, and by which every woman over twenty-five years of age who paid taxes on a certain income, or whose husband paid the same taxes, was placed on the register, and was also rendered eligible for election. This enfranchised some 300,000 women.

Women Voters in the Majority

By the new law of universal suffrage women voters will be in the majority; but this prospect, so much dreaded by the British male elector, holds no terrors for his counterpart in Norway, even though it involves the right of women to sit in Parliament. As a Norwegian writer said in the course of an article appearing in the *Westminster Gazette* last December, "The women are in a majority in Norway as elsewhere, but our men are not afraid of the women. There is not the fight between the sexes as in other countries; they work together for their common interest in the family and the State."

What the Vote Has Already Done

No one can deny this statement who has followed the trend of legislation in Norway since 1909, when the first Parliament elected by the women was assembled. The wages of women post-office officials have been raised to the level of those earned by men who are doing the same work, and better conditions generally, according to the *Englishwoman's Year Book*, have been gained for working-class women during the same period. The writer in the *Westminster Gazette*, quoted above, also stated that the women took a leading part in the general elections of last autumn, which resulted in the return to power of a Liberal Party pledged to maternity insurance and the better protection of unmarried mothers and their children. It may allay the fears of some of our own backward legislators if we add that although women have been eligible for election since 1907, only one woman member, Miss Anna Rogstad, has so far been sent to the Norwegian Parliament.

An Incredible Anomaly

Is it not an incredible anomaly that a woman is being slowly deprived of health, perhaps of life, in prison, merely for demanding a much smaller measure of enfranchisement for British women, while in Norway, a country reigned over by a sister of our own King, women have obtained full political rights without having to do more than ask for them?

ANOTHER MILLION WOMEN GET VOTES

(*Special Cable to* VOTES FOR WOMEN)

The Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution has passed the Lower House of the Illinois State Legislature. No referendum is needed.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

The amendment has already passed the Upper House (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, May 16), and as no referendum is required, Illinois may now, we assume, be added to the enfranchised States of America. Since it is the first of the Eastern States to take this step, and as Chicago is its principal city, the importance of this victory cannot be over-estimated.

THE CONFERENCE AT BUDAPEST

A very interesting and significant circumstance in connection with the Congress of the Women's International Suffrage Alliance, which comes to a close at Buda-Pest to day (Friday), is the attitude towards the conference of the Governments of some of the countries represented there. It is natural, of course, that the Governments of enfranchised countries, like Australia and Colorado, should send official delegates to the Congress; but a little remarkable that the Hungarian Government, which has just extended the vote to more men and thrown out the amendment to delete the word "male" in the Reform Bill, should make a grant of 10,000 crowns to the Congress fund and appoint the Minister of Education and the Mayor of Budapest as official delegates. Even the Government of Iceland, which follows Great Britain in its political enslavement of women, has made a grant enabling Mrs. Breit Asmundson to represent the Iceland women suffragists at the Congress. Are these the usual sops thrown to women to keep them quiet under injustice?

OPENING OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress was formally opened last Sunday afternoon with an overture and the recitation of an ode, both composed for the occasion. These were followed by addresses of welcome, to which Mrs. Anna Lindemann, secretary of the International Alliance, responded on behalf of the Conference. Mrs. Chapman Catt then delivered the Presidential address.

The Presidential Address

Referring to the phenomenal growth of the women's movement, Mrs. Catt said that only seven independent nations, with the exception of the Spanish-American Republics, were now without an organised woman suffrage movement. Three were in Europe, namely, Greece, Spain, and Luxembourg, the remaining four being Liberia, Turkey, Persia, and Japan. To-morrow the National Chinese Woman Suffrage Association would be admitted to membership, and the standard of the Alliance would then have been raised in five continents to 25 nations.

During the past winter woman suffrage had been considered in 17 national Parliaments and 33 State and other legislatures. The cause had everywhere honest friends and honest foes, but the party whips' control led the situation, and the women must wait. The Norwegian Parliament had been the only one to pass a suffrage measure. The largest gains during the past two years had been in America.

Mrs. Catt concluded by referring to the growth of a desire for freedom among women even of Oriental races.

MONDAY, JUNE 16

Opinions on Militancy

The question of the attitude of the International Congress towards the militant movement formed the chief subject of discussion at the first business meeting which was held on Monday morning in the hall of the Redoute. The President, Mrs. Chapman Catt, stated that petitions had been sent in urging that the Congress should take up an attitude of opposition to militancy, and the *Times* correspondent adds that Countess Teleki, one of the leaders of the movement in Hungary, in a speech made in Magyar, pointed out that those who were taking part in the Congress were not to be confounded with those "who are fighting for the rights of women by other methods."

The following resolution was carried unanimously: "Since the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage is bound to the strictest impartiality in matters of national tactics it can express neither a favourable nor an unfavourable opinion. But since neither revolution nor revolt were ever adduced as arguments against men's suffrage, the Congress protests against the action of the enemies of woman suffrage who take as an excuse for withholding their right from the women of the whole world the tactics adopted by a minority in a single country."

TUESDAY, JUNE 17

At Tuesday morning's session, a proposal made by Mrs. Swanwick on behalf of the Great Britain delegates, for the establishment of an International Press Bureau in London, was defeated after a warm discussion. The opposition came especially from the German delegates, who declared that the work was better organised by national offices and by the official organ of the Alliance, *Jus Suffragii*.

At the same session, Mrs. Chapman Catt was unanimously urged to remain President of the International Alliance, the delegates rising to their feet amid a scene of great enthusiasm. Mrs. Catt adhered to her opinion that a change was desirable, but her resignation was not accepted. Other business was the discussion of a proposal by the Finnish delegates, that women already possessing political rights should form themselves into a permanent committee to help the cause elsewhere. All the delegates then spoke messages into gramophones, which were afterwards to be circulated for propaganda purposes.

The Afternoon Session

At the afternoon session Mr. Keir Hardie made a speech which was very warmly received. He declared that no franchise was really democratic or acceptable which did not include women. The argument concerning military service was merely humbug. Militarism was no wise connected with politics. Women were only perfect helpmates when they were able to help politically.

At a young people's meeting, the speakers included Mrs. Corbett Fisher and Dr. Drysdale (Great Britain), and Mrs. Perkins Gilman (America).

Four New Nations Affiliated

An important piece of business was the admission to membersip of the International Alliance, of four new countries—South Africa, Portugal, Galicia, and Roumania.

[*The Congress was still sitting as we went to press.*

MEMORIAL SERVICE TO MISS DAVISON

A memorial service, arranged by Miss Cobden Sanderson, was held on Saturday at Budapest, for the late Miss Emily Davison. It was attended by about a hundred delegates to the Congress, chiefly English and American, and a resolution was passed expressing "profound admiration for the heroic martyrdom of Miss Davison, who has given her life as a protest against the denial of justice to women."

"ON THE VERGE OF CIVIL WAR"

Mrs. Chapman Catt, who recently visited London on her way to Budapest, has contributed an interesting article to the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) on the Suffrage situation here, which she calls "Parliament Fans Flames." In the course of it she says:

"During the past week I have heard more inciting, incendiary, revolutionary talk than I have heard at home in my whole life. Although I have witnessed many excited campaigns of varying objects, I have never seen anything which could compare with the present temper of the British public. None of the many people to whom I have put the question are willing to hazard a prediction as to the outcome of the present situation; therefore I, a stranger to whom every factor in it is unfamiliar, must not prophesy; but I have been tempted upon several occasions to think this country on the verge of civil war. A Member of Parliament, however, assures me that there is more 'sound than fury' in the present tumult, and doubtless he is the better judge. . . ."

The Grille

Mrs. Catt's description of the Ladies' Gallery in the House of Commons will enlighten her countrywomen.

"At the outer entrance," she writes, "stood two policemen who politely requested the privilege of examining our hand-bags. In the corridor approaching the famous Ladies' Gallery, which seems more like a hen-coop, we waited until our numbers were called, when, single file, we walked through the narrow entrance and signed our names and addresses to a pledge to commit no misdemeanour. Another attendant inquired whether the coat hanging over my arm had pockets, whereupon I held them up for inspection. Once more our hand-bags were examined, after which we were permitted to enter the sacred gallery, where, doubled up like half-closed jack-knives, and craning our necks this way and that, we managed to peer through the grille and see the great Prime Minister whose Anti-suffrage attitude has immortalised him."

IN AUSTRALIA

ECHOES OF THE KOOYONG ELECTION

(From Our Special Correspondent)

Our special correspondent in Australia sends us an interesting communication about the recent Kooyong election, in which Miss Vida Goldstein was the unsuccessful candidate, although she polled more highly than any other woman candidate in the Commonwealth elections. "On the whole the constituency seems very well disposed to a woman representative, and to find nothing in the least extraordinary in her coming forward. This attitude is largely due to the education that Miss Goldstein has given to the public at two previous elections when she stood for the Senate in 1903 and 1910. Indeed, when we were distributing papers in the Kew portion of the electorate, every one of which was accepted with a polite 'Thank you,' if any graceless youth laughed, or even smiled, a friend was eager to excuse him with, 'It's nothing to do with this election that he's smiling at—it's a joke about something else.'

"Some women give quaint reasons for withholding their support. One said, 'Oh, I'll only take one paper,' adding confidentially, 'You see, there are so many liars about.' She can apparently only endure lies in homœopathic doses. A favourite question is, 'Where will Miss Goldstein sit in the House?' and, of course, this meets with the obvious retort, 'Oh, I hope among the Ministers!' (i.e., Treasury Bench). Some of her staunchest supporters are among the older men. One of these said that of course he would vote for her; he not only wanted to see women in Parliament, but would not be satisfied until they were on the Bench also.

Open-Air Meetings

"It is quite wonderful to watch the faces of men and women at the open-air meetings, which are a novelty in the political campaigns out here; no other candidate has yet attempted them. London audiences have much to learn from this side of the world. Senseless interruptions, stupid catcalls, and stereotyped witticisms (?) are conspicuous by their absence, although there are always a few hobbledehoys who have not yet attained the dignity of the vote among the crowd. To English ears it seemed strange to hear one of these say, when the speaker was offering papers, 'You might give me one. I could let my mother have it; she'll read it.'

The Cause of the Suffragettes

"One of the great features of Miss Goldstein's campaign is the very keen interest that she has inspired in questions of world-wide importance. Kooyong feels itself the centre of the woman's movement for the nonce, and it realises quite as vividly as we do in Great Britain what this world movement really means. Of course, in identifying her cause with that of the British Suffragettes, Miss Goldstein has raised a storm of opposition, but she has also had a glorious opportunity of educating the public out here. How effectually she has done this for the thinking portion of the constituency was shown at a meeting in support of the candidature of Sir Robert Best, her opponent. A lady speaking on this occasion attacked the militant action of the W.S.P.U., and a number of voices shouted, 'You should read the other side of the question,' until the speaker was obliged to abandon her guns and turn to some other topic."

"THE MOST BENIGHTED."

By refusing the women of Britain the suffrage the House of Commons has declared itself an instrument for the perpetuation of tyranny, injustice, and misgovernment, and it has simultaneously proved itself the most benighted legislature in the English-speaking world.—**The Age (Melbourne).**

IN HYDE PARK LAST SUNDAY

On Sunday in Hyde Park several very well-attended and enthusiastic Suffrage meetings were held, including one under the auspices of the Teachers' Franchise League. The W.S.P.U., handicapped as usual by the police prohibition not to bring a platform into the Park, also held meetings as on previous Sundays, the speakers standing on the grass under the purple, white and green flag, and addressing the large crowds that speedily gathered round.

At the conclusion of one of these meetings a band of hooligans broke through the more orderly portion of the crowd, and roughly handled the woman who had been speaking. The newspapers report that she was knocked down, and a group of bluejackets came to her rescue and helped her out of the Park, where the police came on the scene, and she was enabled to get away in an omnibus.

There is no doubt whatever that the tacit encouragement of these Hyde Park roughs, for which the police are responsible, might lead to serious consequences any Sunday when these courageous women are upholding the rights of free speech in the face of enormous difficulties.

MISS DAVISON'S FUNERAL

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death"

Emily Wilding Davison, who died at Epsom on June 8 as the result of injuries received in making a Suffrage protest at the Derby, was buried last Sunday morning at her home in Morpeth, Northumberland. On Saturday her body was brought to Victoria from Epsom, and was taken across London to King's Cross by a great and imposing funeral procession. A memorial service was held on the way at St. George's, Bloomsbury, which was conducted by the Rector, the Rev. C. Baumgarten, assisted by Canon Todd. Archdeacon Escreet read the lessons, and the hymns sung were "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Fight the good Fight," and "The King of Love my Shepherd is." The Rev. Claud Hinscliff gave a short and impressive address, saying it was an occasion they would all remember to the end of their days.

A Wonderful Pageant

There have been many Suffrage pageants in the last seven years, but London has never seen a more imposing and impressive evidence of the deep and serious feeling underlying the Woman Suffrage movement than was shown last Saturday, not only by the procession itself, but also by the throngs of people who lined the route and watched it pass with evident respect and reverent feeling. Along Piccadilly the crowds were thinner, owing to a report that the procession would be deflected and made to pass along Oxford Street; but everywhere else the great mass of people on both sides of the road, and the packed throng round the church where the service was held, made a wonderful setting for the slowly moving, long drawn out line of women marching four abreast, broken at very long intervals with simple purple banners, and divided into two near the centre by the funeral cortège itself. "Seen from a window," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "as white succeeded purple, and scarlet black, the procession resembled the long unfurling of a military banner. It had, in a more sober key, something of the deliberate brilliance of a military funeral."

A Greek Frieze

In front of all walked a tall woman in white, carrying a gold cross. Behind her came several rows of other women, also in white, with a black band on the left arm, each bearing a laurel wreath; then there was an effective purple banner inscribed: "Fight on! God will give the victory," which preceded the long sections of London members of the W.S.P.U. The first of these, in some ways the most impressive, consisted of women dressed in black, carrying purple irises pointed downwards; they made one think of Greek mourning figures on a vase or a frieze. They were followed by another section of women, these all in purple, carrying red peonies; and these again by a third section in white, with black bands on their arms, carrying white lilies.

The Funeral Cortège

Under the banner inscribed "Thoughts have gone forth, whose power can sleep no more, victory, victory!" marched a large contingent of hunger-strikers, all in white. Just in front of the bier came a group of clergy, many of them in their vestments; and there was another plain purple banner—"Give me Liberty or give me Death." The hearse was drawn by four black horses, with a little squad of Miss Davison's intimate friends, members of the Union, walking alongside, dressed in white and carrying long white lilies. The coffin was covered with a plain purple pall on which were worked in white two large broad arrows, and on it was placed a laurel wreath. Behind it walked Captain Davison, her brother.

The Empty Carriage

The second half of the procession was no less impressive. "Probably," says the *Daily Telegraph*, "the majority of the spectators did not realise the significance of what, next to the bier itself, was the most striking feature of the whole procession. It was an empty carriage, drawn by two horses. That carriage had been intended for Mrs. Pankhurst, and both preceding it and immediately behind it marched bands of women whose medals proclaimed them 'hunger-strikers.' But representatives of the law had stepped in at the last moment. . . . And so it came about that while the obsequies were being accorded to the disciple, the leader was being conducted back once more to Holloway Prison, leaving only the empty carriage to represent her."

Besides that empty carriage, significant of so much, there were others full of many hundreds of floral tributes sent from all parts; and behind these came groups of women doctors and women graduates, making a sudden splash of brilliant colour as they walked in their robes—scarlet and purple, blue and brown and black. After them were long lines of provincial members, all in mourning, stretching away to the distance, and these were followed by outside organisations, walking under their own banners, which were draped in crape. Among these were the Actresses' Franchise League, Women Writers, Women's Freedom League, the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Men's Political Union for Women's Suffrage, Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, Central Labour College, the Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union, the Dockers' Union, the Church League for Justice to Women, and so on. The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship was represented by Mrs. Brailsford, Mrs. McLeod, and others. Mrs. Brailsford carried the floral offering of the Fellowship, a red cross, encircled with white, upon a purple background. Members of the New Constitutional Society were also present, but the Society did not take part officially, as it was inadvertently announced to do in our last week's issue. A section of the men walked under the banner inscribed "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

Awed Respect

The whole length of the procession was dotted with bands playing the Dead March in "Saul" or Chopin's Funeral March; this was the only sound, for the processionists maintained an unbroken silence. At one or two places along the route the hooligan tried to make his presence felt, and outside the church there was an attempt to raise a cheer for the King's jockey and to demoralise the crowd. But these efforts to belittle the thing failed egregiously. There was no doubt that the prevailing feeling among all those thousands of spectators was one of awed respect. It could scarcely have been otherwise before that purple clad bier and those many thousands of silent, marching women who had flocked from all parts to pay homage to their dead comrade, and to the supreme gift she had made of her life for the cause.

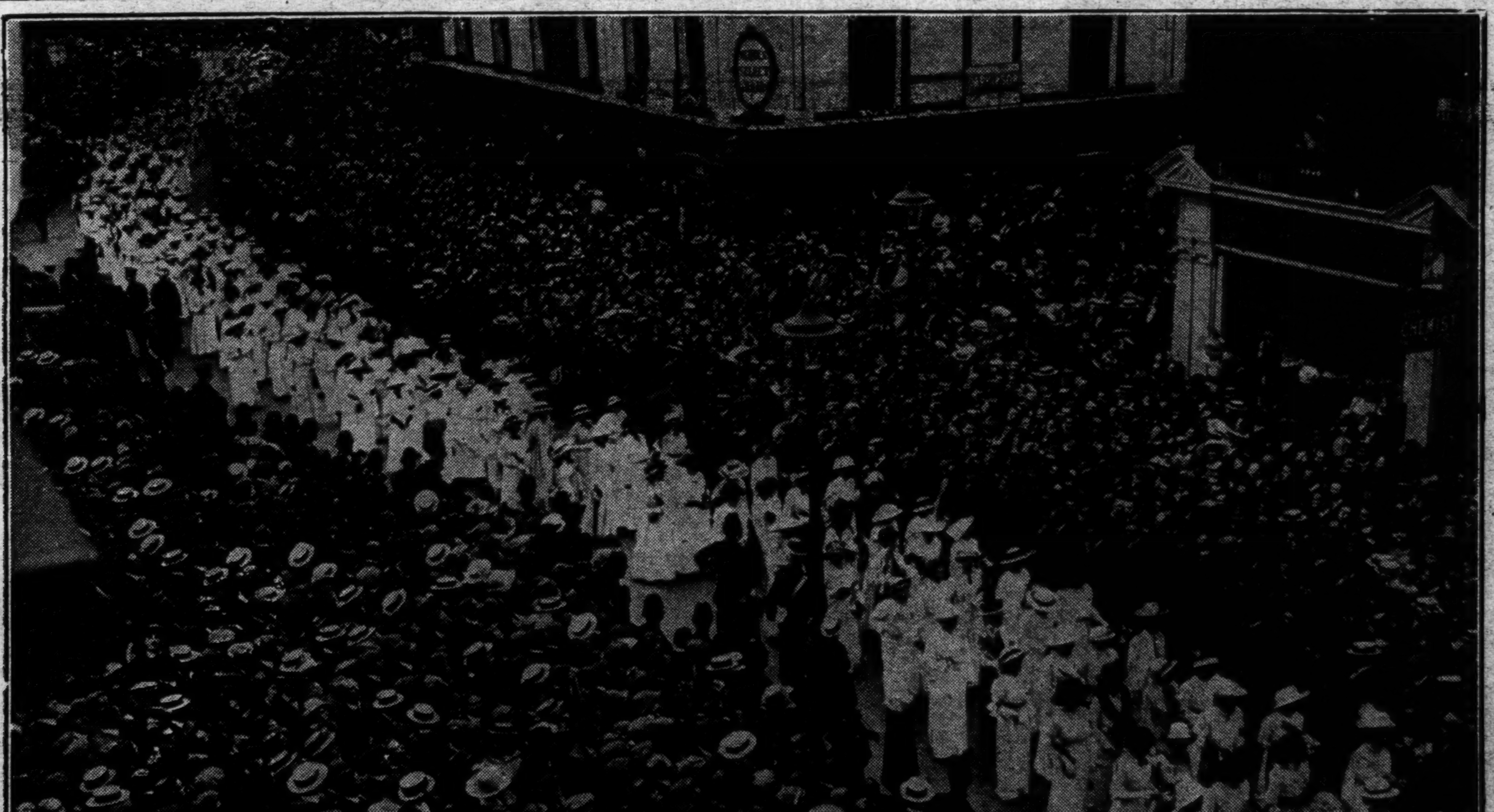
THE FUNERAL ON SUNDAY

No less impressive, though in a different way, was the simple ceremony in Miss Davison's Northumberland home with which she was laid to rest last Sunday morning. Suffragists kept vigil over the coffin throughout the long railway journey, and dense crowds again lined the route when it was conveyed from the station to the church at Morpeth. A procession of Suffragists dressed in white accompanied it, and it was followed by five coaches containing relatives and other mourners. Bands played the Dead March as before. The service at the church was private: and the coffin was buried in the family burial ground; it was covered with a purple cloth from Mrs. Davison, bearing the words, "Welcome the Northumbrian Hunger-striker."

MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN'S ACCOUNT

In an interesting letter appearing in the *Daily Chronicle*, June 17, Miss Beatrice Harraden gives her impression of the funeral pageant of last Saturday. In the course of her letter she says: "As I walked along in the rear, with the Women Writers' Suffrage League, what impressed me more than anything, and haunts me still, was the curious look of questioning bewilderment on the countenances of the spectators, as though some spring of thoughtfulness had been touched and some idea had been released. If this is so—and I believe that it is—then Miss Davison will not have died in vain, and the record of her amazing courage will form the opening chapter also of the chronicle of understanding and reparation for which women have been waiting too long. For understanding implies reparation. And it is only from want of understanding on the part of men and not from deliberate malice that the suffrage movement has had to encounter an opposition, the nature of which has driven many women to deeds of violence and desperation.

"Patience has been the leading characteristic of the agitation for nearly half a



PASSING ALONG HART STREET (Topical.)

century. But there comes a point when highly strung temperaments can be patient no more. If we search history we find instances of this particular form of climax from the earliest times onwards; and Emily Davison takes her place henceforth amongst those spirited and reckless rebels, who, regardless of all consequences, have sacrificed their lives for the sake of an idea —the idea of freedom. No one can do more. No one can give a truer test of sincerity. The deed she did is, of course, open to criticism, to blame, to condemnation. But of her courage and her sincerity there can be no two opinions, and no single doubt about her devotion to the cause of women.

"Changed her World"

"So thousands of women belonging to all the suffrage societies and hundreds of men standing side by side with them in this great struggle walked in her funeral procession to show respect and gratitude, and to pay their tribute to the so-called dead. And the vast crowds of people, awed by the tragedy and awed by the tribute, were able to see for themselves anew that the suffrage movement is an indestructible force, as indestructible as the spirit of the brave and brilliant woman who has merely 'changed her world.'"

"WITHIN"

An Impression of the Memorial Service

Outside in the street the people were crowded together in a thick, dark mass, colourless as English crowds always are, silent almost, and almost motionless; and through the crowd, slow moving, surely progressing, following its way as certainly as through the density of public opinion the Woman's Movement takes its course, came the procession, with its blocks of colour—purple, black, and white.

All the great steps before the church were thick with people, so thick that it was hard to find a way amongst them. Step after step upwards: behind the crowd, in front an open door. And all the time the music of the March of the Dead. Outside, that music and the brightness of the summer light; and then suddenly into twilight, or what seemed like twilight after the outer day; and suddenly the music of mourning made dumb for those who passed through the outer door; merged in, blotted out, by the music within.

It was a vast volume of sound, filling all the space of the church, rising triumphant, steadfast, strong with hope, vibrant with inspiration; a volume of women's voices. And the words they sang had no hint of death in them, no note of sorrow.

"Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee,
E'en though it be a cross that raiseth me.

* * * * *

Angels to beckon me,
Nearer, my God, to Thee.

Out of my stony griefs
Bethel I'll raise!
So by my woes to be
Nearer, my God, to Thee."

In the chancel the coffin lay, purple covered, and with a great laurel wreath upon it; and above, up in the heights beneath the roof, angels were beckoning, for surely it was the beating of wings that timed the music, surely the strength of wings that lifted the hearts of the singers from grief to exaltation. And higher still, beyond and above the roof, raised by a cross, drawn by her woes nearer to Divinity, the spirit of the woman who had died for women.

There were words of glory read out, words written by one who had fought the good fight and kept the faith; there were words spoken from the pulpit; and more words sung, always of hope and trust and joyfulness. Then the coffin was borne out to the waiting crowds again, and the church was emptied of those who had paused with it there. Into the outer world again; not quite the same as it had been before the church was entered; never more to be quite the same.

G. Colmore.

AN INDIAN NATIONALIST'S TRIBUTE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Capri, you know, is the home of revolutionists, especially of the brave Russians who have gathered here round Gorki. Every one of them can boast of many deeds of heroism, and perhaps you remember having spoken to some girls who had outdone the English Suffragist hunger-strikers in the length and persistency of their refusal to eat in the Russian prisons. But neither they nor any other European martyrs for reform in moden times have contributed to the world's progress a greater or more inspiring deed of pure heroism than that of Miss Davison's superhuman protest, of which I read in the English papers by to-day's mail.

I recall with pride the Limehouse protest, at which I was a colleague with Miss Davison. I wish I had known then that a heroine was near me, so that I might have been inspired to show better to the women and men of England that the Woman's Movement is a part of universal human progress. I should be much obliged if you could find it possible to convey my profound admiration and gratitude on behalf of Indian Nationalists for her heroic remonstrance against tyranny.

If you like you can publish this letter. It may help your fellow-fighters to know what other reformers think of her and those like her, who are commonly called fanatics. Fanatics are the blessed ones of the race.—Yours, &c., KUNDAN LALL.

Capri, June 8, 1913.

[*On the occasion to which Mr. Kundan Lall refers, his wrist was broken owing to the brutality with which he was treated by the Liberal stewards.—Editors,* VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

TRIBUTES IN THE PRESS

The "Book of Martyrs" would make much less impressive reading if only those deeds were recorded that were justly proportioned to a worthy end. "High heaven rejects the lore of nicely calculated less or more," says the poet; and the temper of martyrdom is equally impatient of cautious discrimination. Whatever her tragic miscalculation of means to end, Emily Wilding Davison was in spirit the fellow of all those women whom the world honours because they have held life cheap for the sake of the great faith that filled their hearts.—**Sunday Times.**

Many people, doubtless, have regarded her action as even more tragically futile than other recent manifestations of W.S.P.U. militancy—though, for our part, we are far from being sure of this. But to say that it was the action of a madwoman will not help those who choose this not very worthy method of disparaging an opponent. For everybody knows that Miss Davison was not mad in the ordinary sense of the word; that no doctor, that is to say, would have certified her. She was mad only in the sense in which people may be said to be driven mad by injustice, and in that case to admit the effect is to admit the cause.—**New Statesman.**

Controversy as to suffragist methods is stilled in the presence of death. All must honour the martyr spirit—the same spirit that animated the monk who, in the days of the greatness of Pagan Rome, flung himself into the gladiatorial arena and bade them stop the games in the name of the new religion that had come to conquer the Western World. They killed him on the spot, even as Emily Davison suffered death for her attempt to stop the gladiatorial games of decadent England; but his sacrifice was the beginning of the end for those games and for the vile powers that they symbolised. . . . May her sacrifice not be in vain; may it touch the hearts of the hardened to the gravity of the issues, and teach them to appreciate the reality of the spirit of revolution among women. —**Irish Citizen.**

The solemn and impressive scenes in London on Saturday showed that the significance of the death of Emily Wilding Davison was not lost upon the multitude. Motive may be questioned by the intellect; the force of a high, unselfish Deed for a Cause goes home to the heart. It writes its own history, flashes forth and far its own moral; there is no appeal against it. . . . She had much for which it might seem high and splendid to live. She sacrificed all for a cause. Not, of course, the cause of the mere vote for women, but the cause of the larger and nobler life on the way to which political enfranchisement is but a stage.—**Daily Herald.**

We do not believe that her action can advance the cause of women's suffrage, but it is impossible not to admire the courage and self-sacrifice involved, and, when the suffrage issues are settled, her name will probably be remembered by enfranchised women. For an action that seems foolish at the moment may seem less foolish in the light of history. Be her action wise or foolish, she was a brave woman, and laid down her life gladly, recklessly, for the freedom of women.—**Daily Citizen.**

What possible explanation can be given except that her demand for equal rights with men had become the only cause for which she lived? And what hope is there that any human power can stop a movement which generates such a spirit of sacrifice and heroism? — **Christian Commonwealth.**

A WOMAN'S PRAISE

The sheer physical bravery, magnificent though it is, is less wonderful than the vision. In that vast concourse only one insignificant, unknown woman, clear sighted enough to see beneath the glittering pageant of idle wealth and insolent luxury the broken bodies of the sweated humanity upon which it is built up—only one woman strong enough and pure enough in her passionate revolt to hold up civilisation for one lightning instant and startle the butterfly crowd, against their will, to consider the grim realities of life—only one woman brave enough to arrest the great Society Juggernaut by throwing her own frail body in its path and so make men realise something of the God-like passion of pity and the unalterable fixity of purpose which lie behind the Woman's movement!—**Miss Janie Allan in "Forward."**

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

"Selections from Jane"

It is one result of the hurry of modern conditions of life that many people have no time to read books in their original form; they must have them "Potted." "Jane Austen," in the Regent Library (Herbert and Daniel, 2s. 6d. net), is charmingly introduced by Lady Margaret Sackville, who truly remarks that while "Selections from Jane may possibly exasperate those who love her already, they will certainly succeed in procuring for those others who are temperamentally her admirers, yet who by some strange chance have not discovered her already, a vivid and considerable enjoyment." And to "those others" we heartily recommend this attractive volume.

"George Eliot"

Miss Viola Meynell—gifted daughter of a greatly gifted mother, staunch contenders for Votes for Women both—has edited "George Eliot" for the same series issued by Messrs. Herbert and Daniel (2s. 6d. net). The notion of these extracts from the works of standard authors is the enlightenment of general readers and busy people; and really it needs vast revenues of time to get through "Daniel Deronda" unabridged to-day. Miss Meynell's Introduction is well and thoughtfully done, and the Bibliography is useful.

AN ITALIAN LOVE STORY

"From an Umbrian City"* is the tale of a girl who becomes entangled in a petty trial before a Roman magistrate. How she is commanded not to leave Rome till the trial is at an end; how devotion to a friend obliges her to disobey the command; how she outwits the magistrate and escapes without leaving any trace of herself, is the prelude to a love-story, prettily told, against a background beautiful in scenery and charming in its Italian atmosphere.

G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Truth about Woman." By C. Gasquoine Hartley (Mrs. Walter M. Gallichan). (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

"The Sentence of Silence." By Reginald Wright Kauffman. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)

"On Punishment: A Modern View of the Rational Treatment of Crime." By Carl Heath, Secretary of the National Peace Council. (London: Bell and Sons. Price 1s. net.)

"Towards Liberty." By Lucy Re-Bartlett. (London: Longmans Green. Price 1s. net.)

"Lady Bird: A Story of White Slave Traffic." By Mrs. Hugo Ames. (London: Key Publishing Co. Price 6d.)

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* "From an Umbrian City." By Benson Hayes. (Heath, Cranston and Ouseley, Ltd. 2s. net.)

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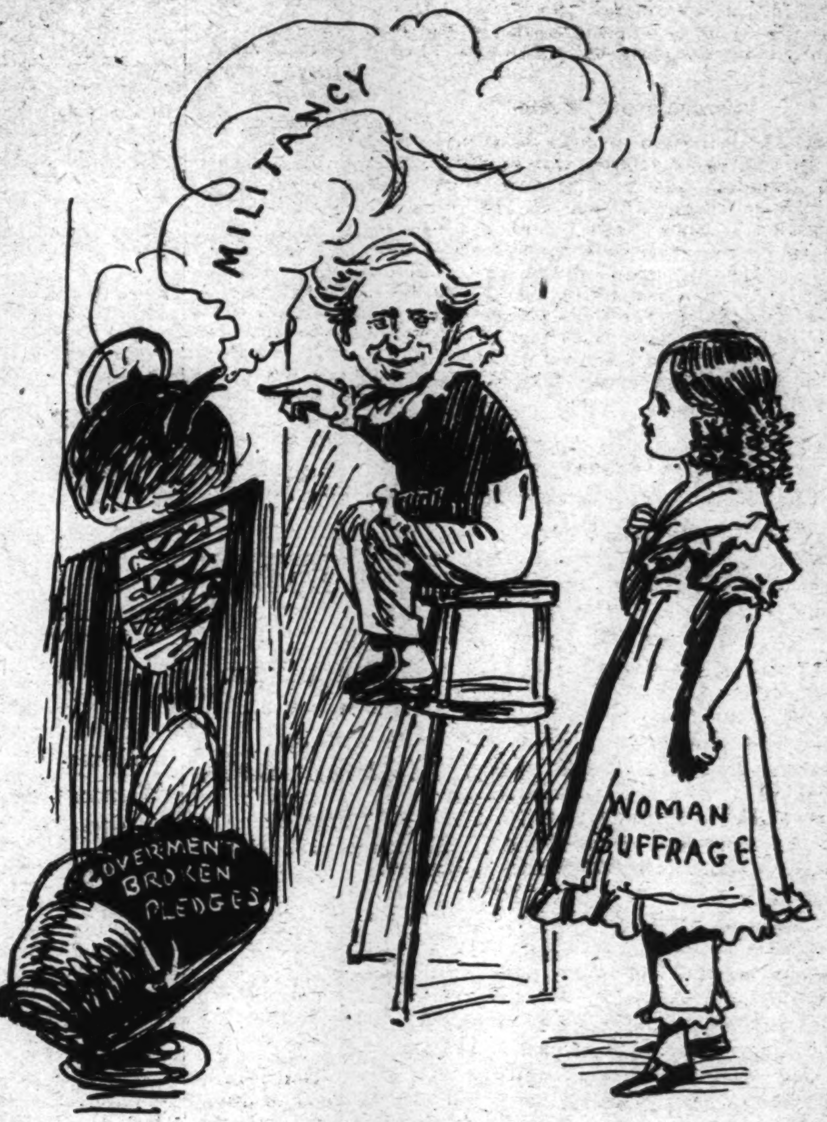
THE CHILD IS FATHER OF THE MAN

Now that scarcely a week goes by without the publication of a fresh biography of a well-known politician, perhaps a few little stories of the childhood of some of England's greatest living notorieties may be not without interest for our readers. We will begin with

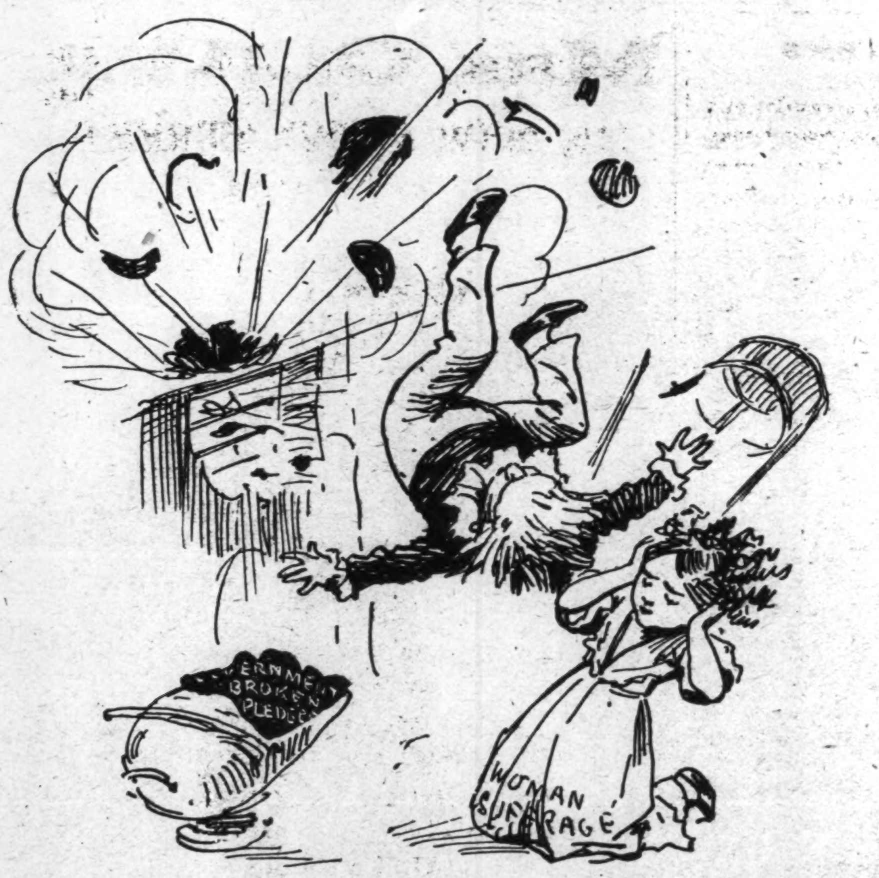


1. LITTLE HERBERT

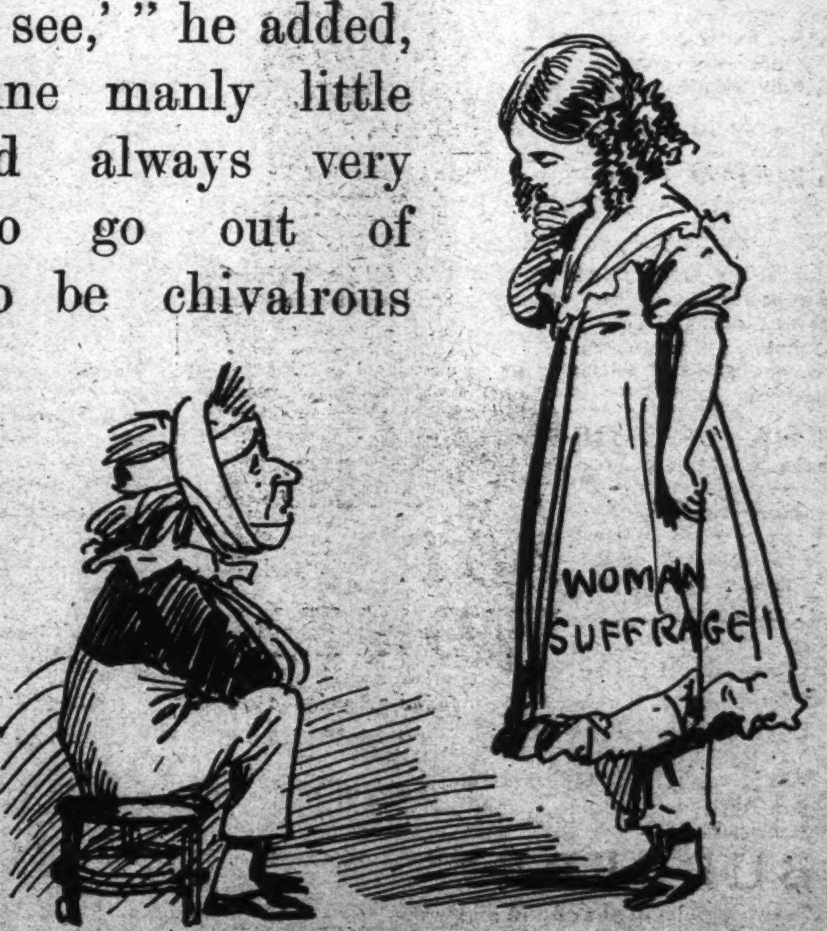
One day, little Herbert was seen to be gazing thoughtfully at the steam emerging from the spout of the kettle that was boiling on the nursery fire.

"That steam," he observed to the little girl who had come to tea with him uninvited—she always came uninvited, but that was his fault because he wouldn't invite her—"that steam is noisy and unpleasant. I shall cork up the spout of the kettle."

"That won't stop the steam," said the little girl—most rudely, of course, as you should never contradict, even if you are in the right, especially when you are a girl and uninvited. "There's a fire under the kettle; and if you cork up the spout without putting out the fire, the kettle will explode and make a *fearful* noise—at least, *I* should if I were the kettle."



"Exspecta et vide," said little Herbert, just to show that he was a boy and learnt Latin at school. "That means 'Wait and see,'" he added, being a fine manly little fellow and always very anxious to go out of his way to be chivalrous to people whom he did not dream of respecting.



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"I am glad I waited," said the little girl, ten minutes later. "And I was right about the explosion, wasn't I?"

"I have nothing to add to my former declarations on the subject," muttered little Herbert through his bandages.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1913.

WORLD-WIDE

Never in the whole history of the world-wide Woman's Movement has any one week brought greater manifestation of its power. Never in so short a span of days has victory been extended along so broad a line.

On Wednesday of last week Woman Suffrage became the law of Illinois, one of the largest and most densely populated States in the American Union. Since last Wednesday, therefore, we may proudly proclaim that women and men possess equal franchise rights in eleven out of the forty-nine States and Territories in the Union.

Two days afterwards, namely, last Friday, a Committee of the American Senate reported to the Senate its recommendation that an amendment to the constitution granting votes for women should be submitted to the whole country for ratification. This is one step in the necessary procedure, before the Federal Congress of America can deal with a comprehensive measure to extend the vote to all American women in the vast territory that owes allegiance to the stars and stripes.

And the very Wednesday that saw thousands of women added to the electorate in Illinois saw the same result in Norway. The representatives of the people in Parliament assembled, resolved unanimously to sweep away the fancy franchise that had been conferred upon the women of Norway as the result of a compromise between the political parties, and to place men and women from henceforth on a footing of absolute equality.

So closely is the International Woman's Movement bound together in every part that the issue of these declarations of liberty and equality in the old world and the new extend beyond all national boundaries, and are hailed with rejoicing by men and women of the faith throughout the whole civilised world. The solidarity of the human race is not a figure of speech. It is a fact to be reckoned with, like the density of the air or the fluidity of water.

Humanity is like a tree which has one root and many branches. When one branch after another puts forth leafage it is a pledge and a sign that the sap of renewal is rising upwards from the buried source of its life.

The Woman's Movement stands for something so fundamental, so inherent in the life and evolution of humanity, that it could not, in these days of intercommunication of nations, develop in one country very far in advance of its progress in all others, yet every new development in one part acts as a leverage to move the whole mass. The Woman's Movement implies not merely political status for women in this community or in that. It means the birth of a moral idea new in the history of the world. It signifies the recognition of the divine and human soul in womanhood, and brings about the release of that soul into the life of nations where a controlling share in the shaping of the world is for the first time committed into its hands.

The political emancipation of women implies a fundamental readjustment of the whole relationship of men to women and of women to men. It sweeps away the subordination of either half of humanity to the other half, and confers the dignity of sovereignty upon both, since through humanity alone can the will and purpose of the Creator as concerning the human evolution of the world be accomplished.

Until this moral idea has been brought to birth, until some rays of this new light have penetrated to the spiritual vision of women themselves as well as of men in all countries, until the influences of this new life force have begun to change external forms and customs in every part of the world, there can be no world citizenship for women, no security for them as an integral part of the body politic, no ultimate triumph for the principle of equality. In the Woman's Movement political triumph and spiritual rebirth are inseparably bound together.

On Sunday last the International Women Suffrage Alliance met in Conference at Buda Pest, and has been attended throughout the entire week by delegates who represent thirty countries situated in every quarter of the globe, Far-off China is represented, for the Woman's Movement is alive to-day in the "Celestial Land." The Antipodes are brought together, the East and the West are one.

Imagination is lighted by that concrete illustration of the solidarity of womanhood. Those who have won the battle in their own lands grasp the hands of those who are still in the thick of the fight. The vision of social reform that has been accomplished in States where men and women work as comrades together is held before great-hearted patriots who are yearning to serve their people and desire above all merely personal ends their country's welfare. The barriers between class and race are being broken down by the realisation of fundamental unity, the like of which has never been known in the world before.

When this week is over and the great concourse breaks up, the representatives of these thirty nations will return to their own people, taking back with them the new inspiration, the new knowledge, the new sympathy and understanding, the new courage and determination which they have gained by their association together. And a fresh impetus will be given to the great spiritual, social, and political movement which is the regenerating hope of the world.

Reviewing these events of the last week, linking them all together by the power of imaginative realisation, who can estimate what new forces have been liberated; who can reckon what the consummation is to be in the generations to come?

It is one of the strange mysteries of human existence that those who are fighting to-day for political liberty have already won a far wider freedom than that which could be conferred by the vote. They have found escape from personal life. And that is the freedom that is eternal. They know themselves to be not only part of a world-wide movement, but part of the mind of the universe.

It is this realisation that inspires the unassailable conviction, the invincible assurance, and the indomitable persistence against which no enemy can prevail. It is this consciousness that creates workers and givers and martyrs as no movement for centuries has created.

And when this inward consciousness is tallied by outward events, when we see, as we have seen within the past few days, the world moving in the current of destiny, of which we ourselves form an individually infinitesimal part, then we taste something of a joy that we never thought to know as part of our earthly heritage.

Let there be no doubt, no fear, no hesitation in the hearts that are set upon the immediate emancipation of women and its wider issues. Let us give thanks and so forward.

"MEN DO NOT ARGUE WITH A FLOOD"

Second Part of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Address to the Jury, June 7, 1913

Gentlemen of the Jury,—I think you can understand, from what I have told you, the feelings which actuated the women who took this action, and I now wish to show you that if women needed direct incitement to rouse them to a great demonstration of protest, plenty of incitement was given to them, not by us but by other people. A certain page of VOTES FOR WOMEN has been put in in evidence, and at the top of that page you will find an extract from a speech by Mr. Lloyd George, delivered at Bath. I want to recall to you the occasion. The Conciliation Bill had just been rendered null by the Manhood Suffrage Bill. Mr. Lloyd George goes down to speak to the electors at Bath; he holds a meeting from which all women are excluded; he talks to those men, and he tells them that he has saved them from the danger of this limited Bill to enfranchise women, that he has, in fact, "torpedoed" it by the Manhood Suffrage Bill. And in the course of this speech he lays down a proposition. Here is the verbatim report: "I lay down this proposition—democracy has never been a menace to property. I will tell you what has been a menace to property. When power was withheld from democracy, when they had no voice in the Government, when they were oppressed, and when they had no means of securing redress except by violence—then property has many times been swept away."

Gentlemen of the Jury, that, as you have from the evidence before you, is a sentence from a speech by Mr. Lloyd George at a moment when he openly announced that he had destroyed the hopes of women that had been built up for years, by torpedoing the Women's Suffrage Bill with the Manhood Suffrage Bill. That is the first mention you will find in this paper of menace to private property; and I venture to suggest to you that it was a most unfortunate occasion for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to choose to point out the fact that when men had no voice in the Government, when they had no constitutional redress—then property had been swept away.

Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol

There is before you in the evidence one other illustration of the incitement that has been given to women. In February, 1912, Mr. Hobhouse, who is a member of the Cabinet, went down to Bristol. (Bristol, as you know, is a place connected with the franchise riots of 1831, a place where in six hours men did damage to property to the value of £100,000 sterling, a few months before they got the vote in 1832.) Mr. Hobhouse took this occasion to refer to the franchise agitation; he referred to our great processions, our great demonstrations; he swept them all aside with the following contemptuous comment: "In the present days of cheap and easy railway traffic, they could always arrange numerous deputations or demonstrations, and they could be as noisy as their funds permitted. In the case of the suffrage demand there had not been the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or the Hyde Park railings in 1867. There had been no great ebullition of popular feeling."

I want you, gentlemen, to understand the significance of this reference made to Nottingham Castle by Mr. Hobhouse. Nottingham Castle was burned to the ground by men who were demanding the franchise, and who used violence, and amongst other violence they used arson in order to demonstrate their demand. Imagine the feelings aroused in the hearts of women by Mr. Hobhouse, a responsible member of the Government, when he said that though they had spent years of labour and thousands of pounds—our first demonstration in Hyde Park cost £5,000—in organising constitutional agitation, that did not count; but what did count with Ministers was that there had been no popular uprising of public opinion as in 1832 and 1867. Was not that a proof by verbal admission of that which we had too often suspected—that the appeal to justice, the appeal to argument, the appeal to constitutional demonstration would have no influence upon the Government at all, but that the only thing they cared for was militancy?

What Mr. Balfour Said

In this very page from VOTES FOR WOMEN which is before you in the evidence you will see a quotation from what Mr. Balfour said twenty years ago in the House of Commons. Twenty years ago, he said that there was as great an agitation for woman suffrage in the country, and that women by their meetings and constitutional agitation had proved their demand then far more than the agricultural labourers had proved their demand in 1884. I will not take up your time by reading you the quotation, but I want to point out to you that greater funds have been raised in this franchise agitation than for any other franchise agitation in history; more and greater meetings have been held; more public opinion has been aroused. The only way that the women's agitation differed from the men's agitation was that it has been marked very much less by the use of violence and the destruction of property. Now, Mr. Hobhouse selects this very fact with which to taunt women, and he does so in February, 1912, just before a change of tactics took place. Why did this change of tactics occur? Do you not think it was in direct reference to that speech? By holding up to women the example of men in 1832 and 1867, Mr. Hobhouse, I maintain, took a grave responsibility and used incitement in comparison to which the words you have heard quoted from speeches and articles in evidence are moderation itself. We had been at pains to impress upon the women that it was not necessary in these days to go to such extremes; we had given expression to our faith that women could make up in individual self-sacrifice that which was lacking in destructive violence. And it was in this spirit that hundreds of women have suffered long terms of imprisonment for obstruction and other technical offences against the law. It was in this spirit they suffered physical violence, and in this spirit many of them laid down their lives. From the moment this speech was delivered they began to feel that self-sacrifice was futile and that nothing would touch the hearts or consciences of legislators but some form of protest fraught with damage to property.

The next point is that those who were responsible for this movement considered it their duty to restrain and moderate the violence that would otherwise have been done; and this is illustrated by the report which has been put in in evidence by the learned Counsel for the plaintiff. Here he demonstrates that from the moment when the leaders of the movement were put out of action the movement began to develop on much more violent lines; he has quoted to you the setting fire to the theatre in Dublin, and the attempt to burn Mr. Harcourt's house. All these things were done as soon as the leaders of the movement were silenced.

But I base my appeal to you, gentlemen, on deeper issues than have yet been touched upon. The question for you to consider is whether this law of conspiracy was ever made to apply to a case of this kind. Are you going to deal with the case before you as you would deal with a case of conspiracy to commit a burglary in the West End of London, or a plot where people have concerted together to gain their own ends, or are you going to regard this whole case as part and parcel of a great political agitation which has grown more and more insistent under the policy of persistent repression?

"When a Tide is Dammed Back"

This great movement is, as you heard Counsel for the plaintiff say, gathering momentum every day like a great flood. Now, when a tide is dammed back it overflows, and inevitable destruction is wrought. But men do not argue with a flood; they do not put the responsibility on the flood; they put the responsibilty upon, and they argue with, those who have dammed back the stream and prevented it from flowing in its ordinary channel.

The story of the progress of the human race is the story of the birth of great moral ideas, new ideas that have pushed their way into the common life, either by the process of evolution or by the process of revolution. Evolution is the natural and the right process, but there have been occasions in history, as you know very well, where the process of evolution has been obstructed by those who held the sceptre of rule. That is the position at the present moment. A new moral idea has dawned in the consciousness of thousands of women and in many men, and that is the conception of women as an equal half of the human race, and, above all, it is the consciousness in women of a new sense of race motherhood.

What Persistent Repression Has Done

It is a moral consciousness which must prevail; it is indestructible itself, but it is potent either for destruction or construction. By the process of natural evolution it is potent for construction; by the process of obstruction which produces revolution it is potent for destruction. It grows with the life that is within itself; it grows under repression; and that is the point I want to put before you, that this movement from its very inception has been met with persistent repression, and that is the reason why it has attained the position it has attained to-day. That is the reason this case is before you this afternoon. When witness for plaintiff, Inspector McCarthy, talked about "harmless militancy," referring to all the years of the militant agitation before November, 1911, I asked him if it was not a fact that for this harmless militancy women had been sent to prison for long terms of imprisonment—for two or three months; and he said, "Yes, as an alternative to being bound over." Exactly. That was one of the methods of repression. The women looked upon it as moral cowardice, as moral repudiation of their convictions, to be bound over. When this point was once understood by the authorities women were always given the alternative of being bound over. Why? Because the law would allow a much longer imprisonment under this form of procedure, which was never meant to be applied in such cases. In 1909 I was arrested, not for incitement to violence, or doing violence, or damage to property, but simply for taking a petition to the House of Commons and refusing to turn back when instructed to do so. I was asked to keep the peace, though it was well known that I should refuse to do so as a matter of conscience; I explained it could not be done, and I was sent to prison for two months, whereas had I been simply punished for the technical offence with which I was charged I could have been sent to prison for a few days only. In prison I was treated as a common criminal; I had to wear the ordinary prison dress, to eat the prison food, to sleep on a plank bed, and to submit to all the humiliations of prison life exactly as though I were a pickpocket, or a woman of the criminal class.

I do not mention this in any spirit of bitterness. I think you will understand me when I say that it would be utterly impossible to carry on this movement if any kind of resentment or grudge were allowed to develop in the mind. Such a struggle year after year can only be fought in the spirit of love for humanity. But I want you to realise the methods of repression under which this movement has grown. My experience has been the experience of hundreds of women who have suffered many and long terms of imprisonment by this legal trick, this deliberate misuse of procedure, deliberately resorted to as a method for crushing this "harmless" agitation.

The legitimate demand of women for the vote has been met not only by refusal but by the gradual withdrawal of other rights sanctioned by honourable usage and historical precedent. Such, for instance, as the right of attendance at public meetings, of the right of presenting petitions to the representative of the King specifically laid down in the Bill of Rights, the protection of which men no longer need since they have become enfranchised citizens.

Without knowledge of this kind it is impossible for you rightly to judge this case. You are dealing with a great moral, social and political movement inspired by an almost religious passion; you are dealing with a question of the most elementary principles of human justice. You are dealing with a movement that has been grossly mishandled by political authorities from its very outset. You cannot dissociate these considerations from the case before you. This suit for damages, unprecedented in the history of any political agitation, is in reality but one more attempt in the long policy of oppression. It is aimed primarily at the movement we represent. You have been told so with complete frankness by the learned Counsel for the plaintiffs. But I ask you to judge this matter on the broad, human principles of justice and equity. I ask you to bring into your dealing with the question the British sense of fair play. I appeal to you for an understanding of the very wide issues that this trial has proved. I want you to see behind those broken windows what the women saw who broke them. I mean, I want you to see the broken human lives. I ask you to regard the grievances, the compassions, the provocations and the repressions that have called forth this political protest and to take them into account when deciding your verdict.

WHAT MR. JUSTICE DARLING SAID

We make no apology for repeating the following short extract from the judge's summing-up in so far as he dealt with Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Lloyd George.

"I do not wonder that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence read to you that passage from Mr. Hobhouse's speech. It was a most unfortunate way of putting the question. If these people were at that time indulging in constitutional agitation, it was a most unfortunate thing to tell them that what was required to convince you of the good faith and earnestness of the people was that there should be riots like the throwing down of the Hyde Park palings, and riots like the burning of Nottingham Castle; it was a most unfortunate thing that anybody at all, let alone a Minister of the Crown, should have treated the constitutional agitation in such a way. This is a constitutional agitation. . . . I think I am bound to say on behalf of Mrs. Lawrence that it is not unnatural that she should use the argument that the people who incited really were Mr. Lloyd George and, above all, Mr. Hobhouse, in the words which have been read. But, if they were guilty in their degree, it does not follow that these others were innocent. That is the fault in the argument. If they were all in the dock together at the Old Bailey before me, and, after conviction, a speech was made in which one convict said, 'I did incite; but whereas I only used whips, that other one there used scorpions' I might feel it necessary to pass a heavier sentence upon the one who used the scorpions; and I should. But, you see, that is not exactly the position. . . .

TWO UNJUST ACTS IN THE WORKING

CAT AND MOUSE ACT

MRS. PANKHURST RE-ARRESTED—AND RELEASED AGAIN

As Mrs. Pankhurst was leaving her flat last Saturday on her way to attend the ceremony in connection with Miss Davison's funeral, she was re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act and recommitted to Holloway Gaol. This is the second time she has been rearrested since she was sentenced to three years' penal servitude on April 3. After a hunger-strike extending into the ninth day, she was first released under the Penal Servitude Act on April 12, in a very serious condition. She was nursed back to a semblance of her former health, and, unable any longer to endure the perpetual espionage of the police, who even dogged her steps as she walked about the garden of Dr. Ethel Smyth's house at Woking, she tried openly on May 26 to drive to London in a motor-car. She was at once arrested on a warrant and recommitted to prison by the magistrate. Having adopted the hunger-strike again, in spite of her impaired state of health, she was brought to such a critical condition in four days that she had to be removed in an ambulance when again released on May 30. This time she was released on licence under the Prisoners' Discharge for Ill-health Act (Cat and Mouse Act), which requires no warrant to be issued for rearrest, and does not allow the period of release to count as part of the sentence.

Released a Third Time.

Under the same Act she was once more released late on Monday afternoon, with a licence extending to June 23. She has therefore served only fifteen days of the sentence passed upon her on April 3, and these have been fifteen days of torture under the hunger-strike, with intermediate periods under close police supervision, during which her friends have nursed her up in order to go through the agony again.

Needless to say, when she was rearrested last Saturday she was not fit to undergo prison treatment even of the most favourable kind—that is, of the kind accorded to Dr. Jameson and others in the past, who, not being women fighting for freedom, have been accorded full political rights in prison. They were able to keep her with safety only two days in consequence, and her state of weakness, as we went to press, was causing grave anxiety.

These are the bare facts of the tragedy that is being slowly enacted under the Government's orders. Our comment will be found in the Outlook on page 550.

THE ACT IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

The Scottish Prisoners

The Cat and Mouse Act is also being applied to the three Scottish prisoners convicted on May 19 of firing the Kelso race stand. Of these Miss Elizabeth Thomson, after hunger-striking, was released on licence on May 23, and is now "wanted" by the police; Miss Arabella Scott was released on May 24, re-arrested on June 12, and has now been again released; and Miss Edith Hudson, who was released at a later date than the other two prisoners, has not yet returned to prison.

The Irish Prisoners

The three Irish prisoners—Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Ryan, and Miss Walsh—who were sentenced on May 26 to six weeks' imprisonment for breaking two windows, have been hunger-striking since June 13 as a protest against being refused full political status in prison, which has always been granted to Irish Suffragist prisoners. As we went to press we learned that they were released from Tullamore Prison on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act.

Directly the hunger-strike began they were refused all their former privileges, and were not allowed books, newspapers, or needlework. Further, they were not permitted to associate even at exercise, and in consequence they refused to exercise, so were continuously confined to their cells. The three prisoners were even deprived of their pillows.

TWO LABOUR PROTESTS

The following resolution on the subject was passed at a meeting held on June 12: "That the City of London Branch of the Independent Labour Party protests vigorously against the treatment meted out to political prisoners under the Prisoners' Temporary Release for Ill-health Act, regarding the Act itself as a reversion to barbarism, and the application of it as a species of torture."

"Slow Murder"

A still stronger resolution has been passed by the Bow and Bromley I.L.P., in which they "protest emphatically against the torture of Mrs. Pankhurst, express their detestation of the Liberal Government's brutal treatment of such an innocent and earnest woman, and in the name of humanity demand that the process of slow murder be immediately stopped."

LETTERS IN THE PRESS

Some strong letters have appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on the working of the Cat and Mouse Act. Mr. C. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.S., writes as follows:—

"There is a time in the lives of most men when it becomes advisable for them to make up their minds and think out the consequences of their actions. Such a time has come now to all who call themselves Englishmen. Mrs. Pankhurst is being slowly and deliberately done to death. Whether her murder is or is not in accordance with law has nothing to do with the question. She is being murdered. Do Englishmen wish for murder? If she dies, as she assuredly will if the present line of treatment is continued, how will they feel about it? It is they who would be guilty, for they could stop it at any moment. Is it not time they began to think of what they are doing, or will they wait until it is too late? Forcible feeding failed. The 'Cat-and-Mouse' Act will fail, as all who gave it a moment's thought knew it must. But is it necessary, or is it even politic, to kill Mrs. Pankhurst in order to prove to the public that the Home Secretary has failed egregiously again?"

"A Horrible Method of Retaliation"

Mr. Frank Jones, of Davenport Green Hall, Altrincham, writes to the same paper:—

"For one reason or another my blood has not been stirred by the militant agitation for votes for women. But I see from your issue to-day that Mrs. Pankhurst has been again arrested and again released. Already in a weak and exhausted condition, she has been taken back to prison and kept there without food (which, for a principle the Government cannot hope to suppress, she will not take) until she is in danger of dying of starvation. This procedure is, I understand, to go on until she has served her sentence of three years.

"Surely this cannot be tolerated. The attitude of placing food before suffragist hunger-strikers for them to have if they will may be logical, but isn't it rather cowardly to release them when responsibility for their deaths hovers dangerously near? In adopting Mr. Bernard Shaw's suggestion, I think Mr. McKenna ought to have gone the 'whole hog,' or not adopted it at all. As it is, the present system seems to be a horrible method of retaliation."

FROM A LIBERAL WOMAN

Mrs. Charles Hancock, a prominent Liberal woman, contributed a letter to the *Daily News* last Monday, in which she says:—

"To punish your political opponent if she or he has broken the law is one thing, to enact a law which will produce either permanent illness or death is a barbarity worthy only of the Middle Ages. . . . Is it not time that Liberals went back to what Liberalism means—and showed that justice, generosity, humanity, and mercy which we all believed was the 'fine fleur' of a Liberalism to the principles of which we are so proud to belong? Let the Government withdraw the hateful 'Cat and Mouse Act'—and treat their women political opponents not to dungeons and death, but to that liberty and mercy which 'blesseth him that gives and him that takes,' and which is the only true remedy for all discontent."

A STATESMANLIKE UTTERANCE

For what is done in society, all society is, in some sense, to blame. The few who might have a right to cast the first stone at these women would be the last to throw it. If headstrong leadership, autocratic discipline, and faulty political psychology are partly to blame, the larger responsibility falls on our traditional attitude towards women, on the supineness of so many ladies of influence and station, on the weakness of friendly politicians in our enervating party atmosphere, on the criminal incitements of some opponents, and, above all, on the cruelties and follies of our methods of suppression. All this has exacted from passionately devoted women an extreme degree of patience and self-restraint. The more they care for their cause, the more, to our thinking, ought they to restrain a useless and harmful exhibition of resentment. But the more we, who endorse their demands, call upon them for restraint, the more are we bound ourselves to remove the provocations which drive them to anger.—**Nation.**

THE ACT OF 1908

In view of the Judge's decision with regard to the costs of the W.S.P.U. Conspiracy Trial, additional importance is attached to Mr. Pethick Lawrence's action in fighting the Act of 1908, which enables the Government to recover the costs of a criminal prosecution from the defendant if the latter is found guilty, but does not enable the defendant to recover his costs, if he is proved innocent, from the Government. Labour organizations are already realising the danger that threatens their own movement in the existence of such an Act. We gave in our last issue some of the resolutions passed by branches of the I.L.P. and other bodies, demanding the repeal of the law of 1908. Similar resolutions continue to be passed in different parts of the country, one instance being a strong protest made by the Woolwich Trades Council. which considered at its last meeting the seriousness of the position under the Act, and as a first step towards securing its amendment forwarded a forcible resolution to the Prime Minister.

An Animated Correspondence

An animated correspondence is occupying the columns of the Woolwich *Pioneer* on the same subject. Among other letters contributed is an admirable one from Mr. Walter Dodgson, in the course of which he says:—

"Will anyone tell us why, in the twentieth century, the criminal who is convicted of criminal assaults on women and young girls is never invited by the Crown to pay the costs of his prosecution; why the man who is backing a great social reform for women, and through them for us all, is being made bankrupt for refusing to pay the costs of the reformers' prosecution? Is it merely a coincidence that when the Act is brought into force a second time, in the Chesterton trial, it is in a trial very closely connected with the credit and the very existence of the Government. . . . .

"Mr. Pethick Lawrence is a journalist and a reformer. He sees in the Act of 1908 a weapon in the hands of a weak Government to strike at the Press and Labour organisations. But it is also a standing threat of financial ruin which, though not actually put in force, hangs over journalists and reform societies, any of whom, in the present state of our law, once they get across with the Government, have to walk warily.

"The fight Mr. Pethick Lawrence is making should be taken up by every working man. For he is out against a law that is a fetter on the new spirit that is to be used for political objects, and that may be used with relentless oppression against the organisations and the Press of the workers."

"This Act of Oppression"

Another strong protest is made by Miss Phyllis Lovell, writing to the same paper: "This case of Mr. Pethick Lawrence will be historic," she writes. "He is standing as a symbol of the right to protest against an act of tyranny, and is ready to bear the consequences of his action; and is it not our duty to make a stand with him, not only because we are indignant at the injustice of his particular case, but because we recognise that, under this Act, all organisations are in danger—that, fortified with this new weapon, Governments can seize the leaders of any troublesome movement, the editors of any forward paper, and drag them from court to court, making them, each time they are found innocent, pay the costs of their own defence, and at last securing a sentence of guilty, extract from their already diminished resources the full costs of both sides in the case. Surely the question of whether it is better to submit to an unjust law because it *is* law, or to stand up and resist, has been solved long ago; and it is our plain duty—the duty of all those who value their rights as free citizens—to fight, as far as in them lies, this act of oppression before it grows older in its sins."

"Heads I Win, Tails You Lose"

Another correspondent, signing himself "A Lover of Fair Play," writes to the *Pioneer* as follows:—

"Mr. Pethick Lawrence is a high-principled man; he is allowing himself to be made a bankrupt as a public protest against the encroachment of the Executive upon the people's liberty. As a democratic nation, we should duly appreciate his public-spirited attitude. . . . It is to be hoped that the official Labour Party will exert themselves to get this despicable Act repealed, or so amended that it can no longer be a case of 'heads I win, tails you lose.' Workmen should not be behindhand in seeing that this matter is not overlooked. Let us remember that Freedom cannot make headway unless it goes hand-in-hand with Justice."

WINDOW-BREAKING ACTION

Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to pay £1,423—Damages and Costs

The second action for damages arising out of the window-breaking of November, 1911, and March, 1912 (tabulated in our issue of May 23 under the heading "Second Consolidated Action), was brought before Mr. Justice Coleridge in the Court of King's Bench last Monday.

Mr. Pollock, K.C., Mr. Gregory, K.C., Mr. George Wood-Hill, and Mr. Cyril Wood-Hill appeared for the plaintiffs; and Mr. Henlé for the defendants, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The other defendants were not represented.

Case for the Plaintiffs

Mr. Pollock said that the action was brought by the plaintiffs, the West End Clothiers Company (Limited), and 92 other plaintiffs against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, to recover damages for injury to their property in consequence of a conspiracy entered into by the defendants. The injury was done particularly on November 21, 1911, and March 1 and 4, 1912. The plaintiffs all sued together for the respective amounts of damage set out in the particulars. With regard to the defendants Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, they had agreed to allow judgment to pass against them on terms which he would mention. As this was a conspiracy case, he would take judgment against all the defendants at the same time, as was essential. Mr. Henlé, on behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, consented that the case should be taken before his lordship alone, instead of with a special jury, and submitted to judgment as to 68 plaintiffs for £1,423 11s. 8d., with costs on the High Court scale, and had consented to a certificate being given for three counsel. The reason for this was that in order to prove the numerous cases of injury to property it would have been necessary to call some 140 or 150 witnesses, and under those circumstances it was obvious that it was necessary to have a little more assistance from the Bar than was usually allowed. He also asked for an injunction to restrain a repetition of these acts.

With regard to Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, they had not entered any appearance, and therefore the case came on a notice of motion for judgment. He asked for judgment on behalf of all the plaintiffs, with costs, and an injunction. As to the ascertainment of damages against these two defendants, he would not at present ask for an order for an inquiry, but only for liberty to apply. This would mean that nothing would be done until an application to the Court had been made. The amount claimed was £1,600 odd.

Statement for Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence

Mr. Henlé said that after the verdict given on June 7 last in the case in which Robinson and Cleaver (Limited) were plaintiffs, and after the very full hearing and full statement made on that occcasion by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as to their position, they felt that they would not be justified in causing a waste of public time by trying a case the result of which would probably be the same. From the damages claimed about £250 had been deducted as to which no evidence existed that they were due to any one connected with the W.S.P.U.

Judgment was entered accordingly for the plaintiffs with costs.

Solicitors.—Messrs. Gard, Rook, and Co.; Messrs. Ranger, Burton, and Frost.

IN THE PRESS

A LEGAL WARNING

The *Law Times*, discussing Judge Darling's decision in the first window-breaking action for damages (June 7), says: "As it stands, the decision secures a powerful and welcome instrument for the suppression of all class movements which proceed on lines of open defiance of the law."

From the *Christian Commonwealth*:—

"A second batch of ninety-three claims against the leaders of the militant Suffrage movement, involving a total of £1,673, were dealt with in the King's Bench Division before Mr. Justice Coleridge on Monday. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence submitted to judgment on agreed terms, in view of the previous decision in the case decided a fortnight ago. We understand that these two actions, together with the costs of the conspiracy prosecution of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, have so far involved Mr. Lawrence in liabilities amounting to over £4,000—a heavy price to pay for devotion to an ideal. Ought he to be allowed to carry this burden alone?"

WOMEN IN INDUSTRIALISM

SWEATED WOMEN WORKERS IN THE BRICKFIELDS

We give an illustration on this page of one of the women brickmakers at work in the Black Country, where they have been out on strike for the last ten days, for a minimum wage of ten shillings a week. The men are out on strike, too; and, says Mr. Keighley Snowden in the *Daily Citizen*, "as in the hollow-ware strike, it is the women who best understand the situation."

A Ten Hours' Day for One Shilling

Until they came out on strike the women and girls in the brickfields were carrying loads of clay up to 260lb in weight, often over distances of 60 yards, and were being paid seven shillings a week, and in some cases only six shillings. Their normal working day is one of ten and a half hours, and many of those employed are girls of sixteen and eighteen. To give some idea of the work accomplished for a starvation wage by these members of the "weaker sex," we may quote an incident related by Mr. Keighley Snowden of an employer who tried with the aid of six clerks to do the work of four of these girls, and failed to get through more than a fraction of it. When we went to press the fight was nearly over, and appearances tended to show that the women were going to win all round. Some of the employers had given in, and others were expected to follow suit. But, after all, what does victory mean? Ten shillings a week! It is a subsistence wage, perhaps; but no one could call it a living wage. And for it women and girls have to do work that well-fed men find too hard to do!

DO WOMEN MALINGER?

At a conference on the position of women under the Insurance Act, held last Saturday at the Central Hall, Westminster, sweeping charges of malingering were brought against women who claimed under the Act. Mr. Handel Booth, M.P., who presided, said that in some districts the claims of women were "appalling" in comparison with those made by men; and Mr. Kingsley Wood, L.C.C., spoke of an "amazing state of affairs concerning the sickness claims of women," and said the women, most of whom were married women who were employed, were on the funds twice as long as the men. He also said that in many cases the sickness benefit closely approximated the wages of the women; and Mrs. Handel Booth added that "of course it was more comfortable to have 7s. 6d. at home than seven or eight shillings at work."

The Other Side

These two last comments were endorsed in much more sympathetic vein by other speakers who followed.

Mrs. Page, of the East End Lying-in Home, observed that in nine cases out of ten the mothers, when they were asked what they would do with the 30s. maternity benefit, replied, "Pay the back rent with it." If the money was spent on nourishment for the women there would be fewer complaints about excessive illness among women.

Mr. M. Keating, M.P. (a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians), argued that the standard of low wages and low health among women was very largely the real reason why women had made so many claims.

The Maternity Benefit

With regard to the maternity benefit, Miss Margaret Bondfield urged that this should be paid to the woman and not to the man, and Miss Paget (Midwives' Institute) spoke of the "terrible delay" in paying the maternity and sick benefit for insured married woman, which often drove the poor woman out to work before she was well.

Accusations Contradicted

In an interview with a *Daily News* representative, the secretary of the Prudential Approved Societies (numbering over a million women) denied that there was malingering among women although he admitted that there was more sickness among them. He maintained that these sickness claims were genuine, as was proved by the fact that there were far fewer among domestic servants, whose conditions of labour are fairly good, than among those women whose conditions of labour are bad.

Work or Starvation?

"In reality," he added, "a great deal of the outcry against 'women malingerers' simply means that in the past a large number of women were at work when they were not fit to work. For those poor drudges it was a question of working or starving."

VOTELESS WOMEN AS BLACKLEGS

Great indignation, we read in the papers, has been aroused among railwaymen by the employment by the Great Western Company of women in the place of men at the Acton Carriage Works. By this displacement of male labour the Company is said to be effecting a saving of seven or eight shillings a week on each person employed.

But what about the indignation among women, who, through their political helplessness, are thus forced to undercut men without getting a living wage for themselves?

[Photo: L.N.A.

(By kind permission of "The Daily Citizen," in which this picture appeared on June 12.)

WOMEN IN POLITICS AND THE PROFESSIONS

PROMINENT WOMAN LIBERAL RESIGNS

"The Greatest of all Reforms"

Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown, has resigned the office of President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations, an office she has held since 1908, in succession to Miss Margaret Ashton, who, says Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown in her letter of resignation, "found herself then, as I do now, out of sympathy with many of the affiliated Associations with regard to their attitude on woman suffrage."

The letter continues thus:—

"I cannot remain president of an organisation of Liberal women some of whom even now continue to work for anti-suffrage candidates, as I feel that by so doing they are retarding the advance of true Liberalism as well as the progress of women's suffrage, which I have always regarded as an essential part of Liberalism.

"The recent division in the House of Commons on the second reading of Mr. Dickinson's Bill for the Parliamentary Enfranchisement of Women showed—

"1. That the number of Liberals who voted for the Bill far exceeded that of any other party.

"2. That two-thirds of the Liberals who voted were in favour of women's suffrage.

"These facts seem to show that if Liberal women will now take up a firmer attitude than they have hitherto done on women's suffrage—and especially if they will refuse to support any Liberal candidate who is an anti-suffragist—we can shortly get this reform adopted as part of the Liberal programme. I shall continue to speak and work for Liberalism and to attain this end; and my resignation does not mean that I am severing my connection with the party for which I have worked hard and unceasingly for twenty-five years. But I think I can now serve it better 'in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility.'" Mrs. Egerton Stewart-Brown concludes by thanking her colleagues for their support during the past five years, and hoping still to come amongst them and plead for the enfranchisement of women, "which I consider to be the greatest of all reforms at the present moment."

UNIVERSITY CLASS LISTS

Woman Wrangler

The Cambridge Tripos Lists have been published during the week, and we give below women's successes in them.

Mathematical Tripos: Wrangler, Miss Lorna Mary Swain, Newnham.

Senior Optimes: Miss M. Gallimore, Girton, and Miss M. H. Whiting, Girton.

Junior Optimes: Miss M. Chambers, Newnham; Miss A. Knapman, Newnham; Miss E. B. Wright, Newnham; and Miss E. M. Wright, Newnham.

Class I.: Miss M. C. Fraser, Newnham; Miss P. M. Sargent, Newnham; Miss I. Woodward, Girton.

Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos: First Class Honours, Misses E. Baker Gabb, G. E. Buist, M. A. L. Burge, A. A. Caley, E. M. Payne, of Girton; and M. Ashdown, D. E. Keatch, and W. Slater, of Newnham.

(Only six men gained first-class honours, and eleven men and twenty-four women passed in Class II.)

Natural Science Tripos: Part II., no women in Class I., two in Class II. Part I., no women in Class I., five in Class II.

Classical Tripos: Part II., Class I., Miss C. Keith, Miss N. L. Taylor, and Miss A. Yoxall, Newnham. Part I., Class I., div. 2, Miss D. O. Ivens, Girton; div. 3., Miss M. W. U. Robertson, Newnham; Miss A. M. Young, Girton. Six women in Class II.

Theological Tripos: Part II., Class II., Miss T. Day, Girton. (The first woman for thirty years to pass the Theological Tripos Part II. at Cambridge.)

Law Tripos: Part I., Class II., Miss F. R. M. Wilson (bracketed with 13) and Miss L. E. Hill (bracketed with 16), Girton.

Historical Tripos: Part II., Class I., Miss C. M. Garlick, Newnham; Miss E. Nixon, Girton. Thirteen women in Class II.

Part I., Class I., Miss R. G. Smith, Girton. Nine women in Class II.

At Oxford Miss Hannah Byrne, Somerville College, together with one man, has been adjudged for a diploma worthy of distinction in anthropology.

THE NEW WOMEN'S HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN

We gave an account, some months ago, of the new Children's Hospital, in the Harrow Road, founded and officered by women doctors, in order to meet the growing demand among poor parents for the attendance of medical women, and the growing need among medical women for the experience of children's diseases, which is denied to them in the other hospitals which shut their doors to women doctors. On Wednesday in last week, the first Annual Court of the new hospital was held in the Kensington Town Hall, presided over by Muriel, Countess De La Warr, who was supported by Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., Mrs. Ayrton, and other well-known women pioneers. The speakers were the Bishop of Stepney, Dr. Mary Murdoch, and Dr. Flora Murray, who gave most interesting addresses, dealing wittily and movingly with their personal experiences of the children of the poor.

Miss Harraden's Impression

Miss Beatrice Harraden, who was present, writes as follows on what took place:—

"No wonder that the work is increasing. The mothers are bringing their children from greater and greater distances all the time, *for this single reason, that the doctors are women*. They feel they can question them, learn from them, hold converse with them, and even the most thoughtless of us can see at once what an immense and important step this means in the education of the working women, and in service to the State. Its consequences will be far-reaching and incalculable. It makes one thrill with pride to think that this splendid opportunity is, as it were, the birthright of the Woman's Movement, into possession of which it has come at last, slowly, painfully, but inevitably.

It is obvious that the doors of this Women's Hospital for Children should be opened wider as soon as possible, and an in-patient department started. I am sure that all present must have gone away deeply impressed with the importance and beauty of the work which our medical women are doing. I think that amongst the visitors I saw some of the Harrow Road mothers with their children, the mothers who, as Dr. Murray said, "put heart into the staff" by their gratitude and by their desire to learn. This may well be, for we all know how stimulating and encouraging it is to come in close contact with the working women. But, all the same, the staff put heart into *them*—and us too. I had planned to hear Chopin's music played by Pachmann that afternoon; but I heard another music instead."

THE NEW WOMEN'S HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN

Another enterprise of medical women will shortly reach fruition in the new South London Hospital for Women, the foundation-stone of which will be laid by H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, on July 1. This hospital, which will also be staffed entirely by women doctors, is to be built on a site facing Clapham Common, and as £40,000 of the £55,000 required to build and equip it has already been subscribed, it is hoped that the hospital will be free of debt by the time the foundation-stone is laid.

ANOTHER WOMAN AS "HALF A J.P."

Another woman, Miss Emily Frances Seddon, chairman of the Huddersfield Board of Guardians, has been appointed Justice of the Peace for the certification of lunatics—the second woman to receive this appointment. A better choice could scarcely have been made, for Miss Seddon has been a Guardian for thirty-one years, and was one of the first women in the country to take up poor-law work. How absurd that such a woman should be held fit to judge the insane, but not to judge the sane—how absurd that she should be only half a J.P.!

IN THE PRESS

THE LOGIC OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

The *Times*, an Anti-Suffrage organ we believe, says in an article on the Laureateship—

"Feminists would add, and not without some reason, that there is Mrs. Meynell; perhaps to make her Laureate would help to satisfy those eminent persons who wish to admit more women to the Civil Service."

Feminists would not, however, add that if you fail in your Civil Service Examination—well, there is always the Laureateship!

VERY MUCH ON THE MARCH

During the last few days there have accumulated signs of the progress which the suffrage movement is making in many countries. . . . Only the wilfully blind can, in the face of such facts, deny that woman's enfranchisement is a world-wide movement, and that it is very much on the march. That recent vagaries have, in fact, checked advance in this country is very generally agreed. But the moving scenes at the funeral of Miss Davison showed that the women have not lost their extraordinary power of organising those impressive demonstrations which really gave the first impetus to general public interest in the question three and four years ago.—**Daily News and Leader.**

THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY TRIAL

Further Proceedings, Verdict, and Sentences.

THURSDAY, JUNE 12

On Thursday in last week Mr. Justice Phillimore and the jury at the Central Criminal Court resumed the hearing of the charge preferred against Miss Harriet Roberta Kerr, manageress; Miss Agnes Lake, manageress; Miss Rachel Barrett, assistant editor; Miss Laura Geraldine Lennox, sub-editor; Mrs. Beatrice Helen Sanders, financial secretary; Miss Annie Kenney, organiser; and Mr. Edwy Godwin Clayton, chemist, of conspiracy to damage property and to incite other persons—members of the Women's Social and Political Union—to commit damage.

Counsel engaged in the case were: For the prosecution, the Solicitor-General (Sir J. A. Simon, K.C.), Mr. A. H. Bodkin, Mr. Travers Humphreys, and Mr. G. A. H. Branson; for the defence, Mr. R. D. Muir and Mr. Adrian Clark, for Mrs. Sanders; Mr. Theobald Mathew and Mr. R. Primrose, for Miss Kerr; Mr. C. A. McCurdy, M.P., for Miss Lake, Miss Barrett, and Miss Lennox; Mr. Cecil Walsh and Mr. Thomas, for Clayton. Miss Kenney defended herself.

MORE EVIDENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION

Evidence was given by Mrs. Hatfield, housekeeper at 19, Mecklenburgh Square, to the effect that Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Jessie Kenney occupied apartments there jointly. In cross-examination by Mr. McCurdy, she said Miss Jessie Kenney had been away since before Christmas. She wrote to witness, asking her to unpack some books for her, and witness did so, and put the book on the Bristol Riots (the one containing the Clayton documents) on the hall table. Cross-examined by the Solicitor-General, witness said she did not know if the papers produced were in the book when she unpacked it, she did not see them. Mr. Justice Phillimore examined the book and the documents, and pointed out that these could have been left in the book without being visible.

In further cross-examination, Mrs. Hatfield said she knew Mr. Clayton very slightly, having met him at meetings; she did not remember if he had ever come to see Miss Kenney either at Mecklenburgh Square or in the flat at Clovelly Mansions to which she afterwards moved.

"Not Your End, but Your Means"

During the examination of another witness, Mr. Bodkin proceeded to read passages from the *Suffragette*. Miss Kenney asked leave to read the article on "The Government and White Slavery."

Mr. Justice Phillimore: The question is not your end but your means. I have no objection, if the jury will put up with it, to your reading it.

Miss Kenney then read the article.

Cross-examined by Mr. McCurdy, witness said many of the speeches given in the *Suffragette* were also reported in the daily newspapers. When Mr. McCurdy was proceeding to read a passage from the *Globe* to prove that language just as violent as in the *Suffragette* had been used in that paper, the judge ruled this irrelevant, saying: "I shall tell the jury that violent language is not the matter on which they ought to convict these prisoners. It can only be in inciting to illegal acts, by showing they are themselves taking part in, or inciting others to, illegal acts, and for this purpose the jury must construe this newspaper and not construe other newspapers."

The case for the prosecution having been concluded:

Mr. Walsh submitted that in the case of the counts charging incitement there was no evidence against Clayton to go to the jury.

His lordship decided that the counts should be left to the jury.

The defendants intimated that they proposed not to call evidence, and Mr. Mathew addressed the jury on behalf of Miss Kerr.

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE OF MISS KERR

Mr. Mathew said that he would admit that Mrs. Pankhurst was the head and chief of the Women's Social and Political Union. He would admit, as he must, that she deliberately counselled methods of militancy. He admitted that the *Suffragette* had approved, expressly or impliedly, of the militant tactics she had advocated. But it had not been proved that Miss Kerr, by word or act, assented in anything which could involve her in a charge of conspiracy or incitement to commit crime.

"A Silent Person"

It was not said that at any time Miss Kerr made a militant speech. From first to last she had been a silent person. In 1908, when Miss Kerr joined the Women's Social and Political Union, it was a perfectly legal organisation. She was entitled to say, "This suffrage affair is a political movement in which people take very keen interest. At times of political crisis the authorities have always allowed, at any rate in reason, the very greatest licence to politicians and speakers. Exceedingly strong language has been allowed, and the authorities have not only left unprosecuted political speakers, but still more humble people associated with them in subordinate capacities." Miss Kerr was entitled to remember certain particular facts. Most of them remembered, on the introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1886, that Lord Randolph Churchill went to Belfast, and in a speech said, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right."

Mr. Justice Phillimore: Is that not more the distinction of a man arguing against a change of constitution, and saying if that change comes he will have to fight, rather than saying, "I shall fight against the law now as it is."

Counsel asked the judge to give him leave to read a passage from Mr. Winston Churchill's "Life of Lord Randolph Churchill."

Mr. Justice Phillimore: If I do it is because I think it will take longer to stop you.

"Constructive Incitement"

Counsel went on to say that if those who were associated with Lord Randolph Churchill were not prosecuted it was no wonder that Miss Kerr should have recollected that incident and considered she was not bound to give up her employment and daily bread because Mrs. Pankhurst had gone further, perhaps, than the defendant thought she ought to have done.

Was not the same sort of thing going on in Belfast as in 1886? He was not going into present day politics; but Miss Kerr was entitled to remember what was going on, and to say, "Here are speeches being made elsewhere as violent almost, if not quite, as those Mrs. Pankhurst is making." If the jury were to find Miss Kerr guilty of incitement or conspiracy, it would be constructive incitement or constructive conspiracy—not because there had been proved against her anything specific, but because she remained a member of the organisation when, in the view of the Crown, she should have ceased to be associated with it.

FRIDAY, JUNE 13

Speeches for the defence occupied the whole of Friday's proceedings. Mr. McCurdy, M.P., addressing the jury on behalf of Miss Lake, Miss Barrett, and Miss Lennox, said it mattered not whether the defendants were moved by worthy or unworthy motives. The only question was whether the law had been broken. The law of England made no distinction between persons, and if it were a fact that eminent men had said things just as violent and improper as these ladies said, that was no defence to these defendants. On the contrary, if it were a fact that these defendants had used language inciting to acts of violence, by condemning and punishing them the jury would set an excellent example to much more highly-placed people who might have been misled.

But he would ask the jury one favour, and that was that from beginning to end they should consider the case as an ordinary criminal trial, presuming that each of the defendants was innocent until proved guilty, and bearing in mind that it was not sufficient for the prosecution to build up a case on suspicion, however strong. With regard to this enormous organisation, the Women's Social and Political Union, as far as the evidence in this case was concerned, by far the larger part of its work was purely legal and constitutional. It was not a society formed for purely illegal purposes.

A Public Conspiracy

"This conspiracy," counsel went on, "is contrary to every other conspiracy you have heard of, because usually the more private the meeting, the more violent the language. The conspiracy of the Women's Social and Political Union is the exact opposite. It is when they are face to face with the Press and public that these amazing conspirators hatch their plot." The union was still carrying on its work, Lincoln's Inn House, with its five floors and its organisers, was still open, the *Suffragette* was still on sale. Nobody suggested that it was illegal from beginning to end. The case was that side by side with constitutional work there had been cases of conspiracy hatched by members of the Women's Social and Political Union, but the question the jury had to decide was whether the prosecution had selected the right members or not. In an ordinary case the printers, Messrs. Speaight, who had received £1,100, would have been accused, though he did not suggest they were guilty for printing and disseminating incitements to violence, instead of that young lady, Miss Lake, who was paid £2 a week as business manager of the *Suffragette*.

Referring to the pamphlets, "Broken Windows" and "Burnt Pillar-boxes," counsel pointed out that they were reprints of articles in the *Suffragette* which had not been complained of at the time they appeared, when it must be remembered Miss Lake had no control. There must be guilty intent before they could find that the reprints of those pamphlets was an act of criminal conspiracy. "This is a women's conspiracy. It does not matter what the men do; they are all innocent. It does not matter what the women do; they are all guilty." Dealing with Miss Barrett's case and the speech she was reported to have made, counsel observed, "It sounds like a Privy Councillor going to Ireland. She must have had in her mind the statement, 'I am going to Ireland to break every law I can.'"

Hyperbole, Not Incitement

When a man said he was going to break every law he could, one might be certain he did not intend to break any. And when a woman said there was to be no law and no order she was using the inflated language of hyberbole rather than the cool counsel of conspiracy. It was not the language of conspiracy, but of recklessness. It would be a sorry day for England when a man was haled to prison because, in a single speech on a single occasion, he, in language obviously that of rhetoric and emotion, overstepped the mark. And the same principle should apply whether to one of these inflammatory and incendiary females or to the most respected member of the Houses of Parliament. It was the privilege of English law which entitled every dog to one bite. He asked the jury to say this lady was entitled to one bark. (Laughter.) Dealing with Miss Lennox, counsel referred to the Solicitor-General's remark that she had a soft spot in her heart for Jaeger's.

The Solicitor-General: No. There are a great number of advertisements for Jaeger's in the *Suffragette*.

Mr. McCurdy said it would be a calamity in the cause of justice if they were able to say that printers, publishers, and managers were innocent and Miss Lennox guilty.

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE OF MRS. SANDERS

Speaking on behalf of Mrs. Sanders, Mr. Muir said his client did not wish him to say one word which would lift blame from her by casting it on the others.

There was no fact in the history of this movement more certain than the absolute loyalty of these ladies to each other. That was the determining factor in the decision that they would not go into the witness-box. "It was not lack of courage, for, whatever they may lack, that is not one of their failings. The cause which induces women to endure the humiliation, the degradation, of imprisonment; the physical suffering of the voluntary hunger-strike; the almost certain death of a march into a racecourse when the horses are galloping by—that is not a cause which lacks courage in its supporters. When you are looking for the reason for these ladies not going into the witness-box it is not to be found in any fear of what may happen to themselves in consequence of any evidence they may give." He hoped to convince the jury that Mrs. Sanders took no guilty part in the organisation. She was a woman working for her daily bread as a bookkeeper and cashier at a salary of £3 per week.

A Domestic Simile

"The Solicitor-General says the leaders of this movement can turn the tap on and turn the tap off. That is a domestic adaptation of a famous phrase applied to a much wider conspiracy now apparently on the eve of success. It was of Mr. Parnell that Colonel Saunderson said, 'The hon. gentleman has his hand on the throttle-valve of crime in Ireland.' Mrs. Sanders has her hand on no throttle-valve in this organisation. This engine is driven by two persons mainly, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Pankhurst, and Mrs. Sanders's humble occupation is that of shovelling on the coal according to the orders from these two leaders."

Counsel asked the jury to carry out the duty which some women said was impossible—for men to administer justice to women. Of course, the point of view of those responsible for the stream of government and order was that there should be no ripple on its surface. But reformers were of a different opinion. What was called rebellion to-day was called reform to-morrow. What was called not many years ago "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire" was to-day called justice to Ireland. When he referred to those women as reformers, he was giving them the title which they had already earned. The police and Government urged the advance of reforms by logical arguments, reasoned speech, and by argumentative pamphlets and articles. Excellent. But did they ever know any great reform in politics or religion which was carried entirely by means such as those?

Mr. Justice Phillimore: What? Abolition of the slave trade.

Mr. Muir: The abolition of the slave trade went through very stormy times according to my recollection. What happened in America with regard to the abolition of the slave trade, the place where it was a crying question? Years of civil war, the loss of thousands of lives, were the methods by which the abolition of the slave trade and slavery on its larger scale among civilised nations was abolished.

Mr. Justice Philimore: It is not worth while discussing history. It did not abolish the slave trade. It was abolished long before.

Ireland's Example

Mr. Muir said he was not seeking to justify unlawful acts, but could they be surprised that members of this movement, who had seen its forward march by means of unlawful acts, should imagine that by a continuance of those acts they would further forward their cause? Could they be surprised that some went beyond the bounds of reason, and did that which would harm it, when they saw before their eyes the example of Ireland and Home Rule? When they had that army of women moved by such courage as they had seen, animated by such unselfish motives as they saw every day in their own lives, it was not a movement which would be crushed by high-handed methods which did not seek to do absolute justice to individuals. Counsel put it that there was no evidence to show that Mrs. Sanders knew that Clayton was a chemist.

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE OF MR. CLAYTON

Mr. Walsh, addressing the jury for Clayton, observed that whether guilty or not, mistaken or not, each one of the defendants was animated by motives as pure and high as any in the world. He could not with propriety suggest that the matter really had to do with the innocence or guilt of the defendants; but one would be something less than human if one did not observe, on the fact which was common knowledge, that for some reason or another that class of trial and inquiry was becoming little less than a farce.

The reason was that although the duties of the judiciary and those concerned in the administration of justice were just the same whatever was done outside, one could not ignore the fact that where on the one hand the judiciary had to administer the law it was the executive which set it in motion and carried out the decree, the same executive that was putting in force the law against those accused persons not that day for the first time, but again and again, and putting the country to enormous expense in those inquiries, the same executive which, after the sentences, has been deliberately releasing them.

No Evidence of Incitement

Continuing, counsel said that among the documents found was one undoubtedly inciting persons to burn timber yards. It was not a pleasing task to argue a question about incitement when one had such a document staring him in the face. But they could not convict a man for what he had not done because he had done what he should not do, and there was not a single charge against Clayton which dealt with the properties referred to in the letters which he had written. And there was no evidence on which they could find him guilty of inciting anyone to break windows or put anything into pillar-boxes. With whom had Mr. Clayton's intentions reached the stage of agreement necessary to constitute a conspiracy?

It was clear that in this organisation men were not wanted, and it was obvious that Clayton's suggestions were never acceded to, considered, or acted upon. "He wanted them to burn timber-yards, but they didn't. He suggested they should set fire to cotton-mills, but they didn't. He asked them to burn his letter, but they didn't. And here the letter is."

Miss Kenney, who defended herself, intimated that her speech would occupy an hour and a half. Mr. Justice Phillimore accordingly adjourned the trial until Tuesday, as he was unable to be present on Monday.

TUESDAY, JUNE 17

When the proceedings were resumed last Tuesday morning, Miss Kenney addressed the jury for her defence.

Dealing with the documents found at her flat, she said they did not belong to herself, but to her sister, Miss Jessie

Kenney. The first time she knew of their contents was when they were read at Bow Street. There was nothing which could be urged against the action of the women in wearing colours and badges. Much had been made of the headlines in the *Suffragette*, but she saw in another paper the headline "Rifles for Ulster." Which was the more militant, that or the headlines in the women's paper? Forty-two tons of rifles in a stable at Hammersmith! If there was justice in this country, the editor of the paper she had mentioned ought also to be indicted for incitement.

"Threats Alone are Nothing"

Mr. Justice Phillimore pointed out that the submission of the prosecution on a letter of Mrs. Pankhurst's was, not that she threatened, but that there were certain results from the threats. Threats alone were nothing.

Miss Kenney went on to read quotations from other papers with regard to Ulster, and said it seemed impossible that the jury could decide that the defendants were guilty if the editors of those papers went scot-free.

Mr. Justice Phillimore: The question is not whether there are other criminals, but whether you and those in the dock with you are guilty. It is not necessary for me to point out the difference in the cases you have mentioned, but, assuming they were the same, it would be no defence to you.

"Hounded from Pillar to Post"

Miss Kenney: I don't think that the jury can decide whether we have any right to be put in the dock unless they realise the kind of language used by the leaders of political parties every day in the week. And they go scot-free, while we are hunted and hounded by the Liberal Government from pillar to post.

Mr. Justice Phillimore: I will not interrupt you again. It is not for speeches that you are charged on the main counts, but for the results following the speeches.

Miss Kenney: Everyone knows rifles have been found labelled "machinery," and sent to Ulster, owing to speeches from the Opposition benches. And because the Government know they will some time be in opposition there is a tacit agreement that, whatever they say, there shall be no prosecution on the other side.

Miss Kenney went on to quote from the speeches of party leaders, and then dealt with her own connection with the Women's Social and Political Union. She concluded: "I am a rebel; I shall be a rebel until we get the vote. I am in open rebellion against the unjust and abominable system, economical and political, we have to live under. And if it means, like Emily Wilding Davison, that I have to die to get the vote, I shall die to get the vote, whatever the verdict of the jury may be."

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL'S ADDRESS

In his final address, the Solicitor-General said this was not a prosecution of people because of the opinions they held, but of people who were alleged, in pursuit of perfectly legitimate objects, to have employed methods which were plain and flagrant breaches of the criminal law.

Miss Kenney's references to other matters had nothing to do with this.

"Not a Single Word of Regret or Blame"

It had not been disputed that Mrs. Pankhurst was conspiring. Who was she conspiring with? There was not a single word of regret or blame from any of the defendants following the outrages. He hoped it would always be true that those responsible for the administration of justice in that court would exercise a wide discretion, and be slow to imagine that violent language—not followed by outrage or excess— was necessarily to be pursued in a criminal court. It depended entirely on the circumstances, and it was quite impossible, in a country where the greatest liberty was given to forms of expression, and political controversy was very keen, and sometimes very bitter, that citizens—either men or women—should always be regarded as so many criminals merely because they used extravagant terms of speech. But that was not the case here. The defendants here were being prosecuted because the language was really part of the conspiracy, and went to the length of incitement, with success, to deeds of violence.

The Solicitor-General then dealt in detail with the case against each defendant. With regard to Miss Kerr, surely, he said, the letters written to her by Miss Christabel Pankhurst were not those of a master to a servant. Rather were they letters written to one sharing in the writer's aspirations and desires. Dealing with the interview between Miss Kerr and Mrs. Strange, co-proprietress of Kew tea pavilion, after the pavilion had been burned down, Sir John Simon said that the interview threw a clear light upon the character of Miss Kerr's activities. He did not want to strain the case against her one hair's-breadth, but he submitted that it had been clearly proved that she was a moving spirit in the matter. Miss Lake's part was next dealt with, the Solicitor-General pointing out that she too had been in connection with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and was responsible for the publication of the militant pamphlets written by the latter. The tone of the letters too clearly proved that Miss Lake was far from being an innocent agent.

Regarding Miss Barrett and Miss Lennox, the Solicitor-General contended it was clear they were closely concerned, not only with the preparation of the *Suffragette*, but with its policy. As to Mrs. Sanders, the suggestion that she was a mere bookkeeper was in conflict with the evidence.

THE JURY'S QUESTION

After the luncheon interval, the Judge read the following question aloud, which had been handed up from the jury:—

"Were the officials of the Women's Social and Political Union warned by the authorities they would be proceeded against if they continued to advocate militancy; and did they continue to advocate militancy after being so warned?"

THE JUDGE'S SUMMING-UP

In his summing-up Mr. Justice Phillimore said this was one of the saddest trials in all his experience as a judge. Women and men, people of some education and refinement, well fed and well clad, enjoying all the advantages of civilisation, were accused of committing, and inciting others to commit, crimes against property, often in cases where misery, and even penury, might be brought on the victims. If the charge were untrue, it was a wicked and horrible charge to make. If true, what a terrible indictment against the people in the dock. How sad it was that in this day there should be people who could bring themselves to believe they were entitled to do such things as these people were said to have done. The object they had in view was perfectly laudable; but the law, not only of England, but of God, said that men must not do evil that good might come.

It had been said that great causes were never won without breaking the law as it stood. That might be true of some causes; it was very untrue of others. If we were to go on in this way, as the years and centuries rolled on, and every recorded act of anarchy was to be used as justification of a further act, then, as history proceeded in its long course, the human race would reach a position of absolute savagery, and the only chance of salvation would be the obliteration of memory.

Christianity Opposed to Lawlessness

The religion of the world which had done most to elevate the position of women was Christianity. The religion which had probably done most to repress them was Mohammedanism. Christianity in its earliest and purest days, and during the revival of the last eighty years, had always been opposed to acts of outrage and lawlessness. Mohammedanism was a religion which had been propagated by the sword.

This question had been treated as one sex against the other. He imagined the jury would find that it was not women against men, but some women against all other women and children, and some men against all other men. In a part of her speech Miss Kenney had said women should have the vote because so much cruelty was inflicted by men on women and girls, which should be remedied. That might be a good reason for having the vote, but it was not a good reason for burning private individuals' property or putting corrosive material into letter-boxes which would injure postmen as well as injure letters.

Proclaims Himself an Anti-Suffragist

Sympathising as he did with her, and feeling that very often very many black crimes were committed by men against women and girls, he feared that long experience had taught him that no gift of the vote to women, no legislation, would improve that matter. There were excellent means for dealing with outrages on women and girls, but the difficulty was to prove cases and get juries to convict. There would always be the same difficulty of proof, often of taking oath against oath, and this would remain until the end of time, no matter who had the vote. For his own part he had been consistent and stern in his punishment of such offences, and, he trusted, would be for the short period he should remain on the Bench.

THE VERDICT

"Guilty—with Recommendations to Leniency"

After an absence of an hour the jury found all the prisoners guilty, with strong recommendations for leniency of sentence in the case of Miss Lake, Miss Barrett, and Miss Lennox.

The Solicitor-General said there were no convictions against any of the defendants except Mrs. Sanders, who had twice been convicted for offences in connection with the movement. Two witnesses, one being Mr. E. V. Lucas, were called to speak to the high character of Miss Kerr, and the Rev. M. Hardy, minor Canon of Lichfield Cathedral, testified as to Mr. Clayton's character.

ANOTHER SPEECH FROM THE JUDGE

Before passing sentence, Mr. Justice Phillimore said that although others in his belief had taken part in the movement actuated variously by love of power, ambition, spirit of mischief, pay—"and many from a sincere belief that they are forwarding a good object"—he assumed that to the seven people before him could be attributed the last motive. This did not make it less sad for him to pass sentence. He saw before him a number of well-dressed, comfortable people, who had reasonable salaries and had been enjoying the benefits of that civilisation which they had been trying in the last few months to destroy. He agreed with the jury in the discrimination made by them between the younger and older man and women, and they fortified him in the distinction he proposed to show in their sentences.

To Pay the Costs of Prosecution

Addressing the defendants, the judge then said—I am afraid I must treat you all as people who have done very serious injury to the public peace, and who must be kept away from doing mischief, and you must be made, to some extent, an example to others. I have considered your offence, and I have come to the conclusion that it will not be well to fine you, as I am very uncertain what the means of some of you are, and I think that justice will be better met by ordering each of you to pay one-seventh of the costs of the prosecution. I shall also bind you all over to keep the peace for twelve months after you have served your period of imprisonment, in two sureties. If you have not your sureties ready, you will be imprisoned until you find them. The sentences are to date from the first day of the sessions, which in this case was the 27th day of May. Your imprisonment in each case will be in the third division.

His lordship then fixed the amount of the sureties, in prisoners' own recognisances, at £200, and two sureties of £100 each.

THE SENTENCES

Sentences of imprisonment, in the Third Division, were then passed as follows:—Miss Kerr, twelve months; Miss Lake, six months; Miss Barrett, nine months; Miss Lennox, six months; Mrs. Sanders, fifteen months; Miss Kenney, eighteen months; Mr. Clayton, twenty-one months.

THE JUDGE'S THREAT

His lordship added: One of the counsel has suggested that the time of leniency has passed, and I do not think you will meet with quite the same treatment as others have done. I am bound to add that if the Home Secretary consults me, as he very often does consult the judge, I shall take upon myself the responsibility of saying that at any rate the ringleaders of you should not be let out of prison under any circumstances.

Miss Kenney: Then we shall die together.

The Judge: If you, in the words of our great poet, "violate the canon which the Everlasting has fixed against self-slaughter," you will have to reconcile such action with your conscience.

Miss Kenney: I am quite prepared to do that.

Miss Barrett: We shall hunger strike.

Mrs. Sanders: Mr. McKenna will not keep me in prison against my will.

Miss Kenney: We shall do the hunger strike. They have got to let me out or kill me. I think your summing-up was most biassed and unfair. Whatever happens, we shall fight. You ought to be ashamed of yourself to receive £6,000 a year for hounding down women.

The Judge: Let that woman stand down.

The defendants were then removed.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to militant Suffragists during the past week:

Friday, June 13.—At Bradford the Low Moor Cricket Club pavilion and a cabin on the Great Northern Railway burnt, and a fire-lighter factory set on fire.

Letters in twelve pillar-boxes damaged at Edinburgh.

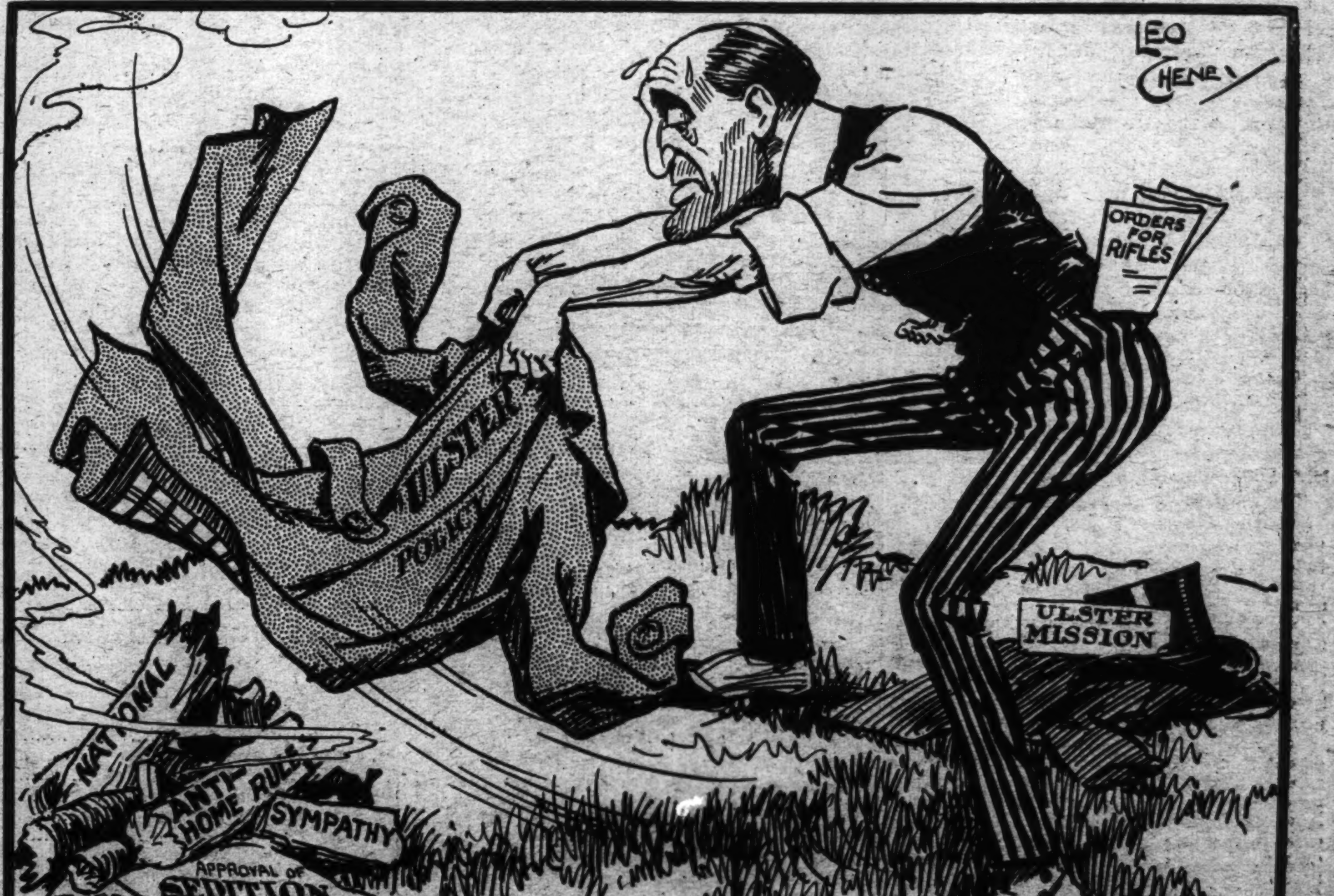
Sunday, June 15.—Letters damaged at Lewisham.

Monday, June 16.—Brick thrown at Colonial Office window; one woman arrested.

About 300 volumes discovered to have been injured in library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Some papers attribute this outrage to undergraduates.

Letters damaged at Wandsworth Post Office.

THE "BEACON"



(By kind permission of "The Daily News and Leader," in which this cartoon appeared on June 12.)

SIR EDWARD CARSON (vigorously fanning the sparks): They liken my conduct to the militant suffragettes', do they? Sure, I wish I could make a fire blaze as they can, anyway!

CORRESPONDENCE

"THE PHANTOM WOMAN"

A correspondent writes:—

"Your editorial, entitled 'The Phantom Woman,' in the issue of May 30, by disseminating, and this without condemnation, the preposterous notions about women of such writers as Weininger, Strindberg, &c., roused my indignation to such a pitch that I destroyed the article forthwith. The only excuse for spreading broadcast the delusions of abnormal misogynists, would be that of subjecting them to the scathing criticism they merit. But I find nothing of reproof, much less of scathing criticism, in the Editorial aforesaid. We are bidden, rather, to regard these manifestly insane diatribes as 'danger signals,' and to arm ourselves against them, as if they were foemen worthy of our steel! As if it were possible or conceivable for any considerable number of sane human beings to adopt such a notion as that one-half of a species could be of different origin and essence from the other half! Such a notion is opposed alike to reason and common sense. Besides, were proof demanded of woman's soul and worth, there have been countless examples of these for those who had eyes to see ever since the world began. It has not needed the Militant Movement to prove the worth of womanhood. In reality, man cannot deny woman's divinity without denying implicitly his own. It is impossible to separate in essence one-half of a species from the other half, nor will it ever seriously be attempted by a sane world."

[We are glad to publish this interesting criticism upon our leading article of May 30. It indicates forcibly the fact that women generally do not realise the dangers to which in their present voteless condition they are exposed. Our correspondent is apparently not aware of the extraordinary influence exercised upon lawyers, doctors, Members of Parliament, to say nothing of the young men of our Universities, by philosophers such as Strindberg, Nietzsche, and Weininger, who hold women to be a lower biological form than men. She does not trace the influence of these writers in the speeches of Members in Parliamentary debates on Woman Suffrage, and forgets that one of them was mentioned by name in the last debate of all upon the subject. She fails to recognise that the Prime Minister's speech on the Manhood Suffrage Bill, last year, when he claimed citizenship as a right for every male of full age, denying that right to any woman of any age or position, is simply a transposition of these opinions from the sphere of philosophy to the sphere of politics. We entirely sympathise with her view that the ideas put forward by these misogynists are opposed alike to reason and common sense, but, as we pointed out in our leading article, they are not more fantastic than the ideas put forward by two superstitious and fanatical Dominican friars in the "Witch Hammer," which resulted in the destruction of thousands of wretched women who were put to death as witches during the course of two centuries, with the aid and abetment of the Law, the Church, and the State. Against the flood of such pernicious ideas, which from time to time obsess great numbers of intellectual men, there is only one refuge for women, and that is the rock of equal political status. Against that rock these obsessions would beat for a time and then flow back with the returning tide. But so long as women are voteless, there is always imminent danger of these heresies being converted into statutes and administered in the Law Courts to the very serious and lasting detriment of women's legal position in the State. Thus, while women are without the vote, the teaching of such writers is a real menace to their liberties. The spread of their ideas in intellectual quarters should rouse women by a fresh incentive to manifest their will and determination to win the vote without delay.—Editors, Votes for Women.]

IF IT IS OUR MONEY THEY WANT . .

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Madam,—Though a Non-Militant, I feel that women must in self-defence in future take stronger steps than in the past to protest against unjust treatment by the present Government, and I have therefore notified the Postmaster-General and others that I have withdrawn practically all I possess in the Post Office Savings Bank and have invested it in one of the American States where women have the vote. I cannot help thinking that if a good many women would do the same, and if possible on a given date, that the movement would receive considerable attention from those in authority. It is a bitter step for any lover of England to take, but the terrible sufferings of the Sweated Women Workers, of the victims of the White Slave Traffic, and of the outraged children (for this see the last N.S.P.C.C. Report) should, I think, make every woman (who believes that women having the Parliamentary Vote would alter these conditions) not hesitate to take the step if it can in any way act as a lever towards obtaining justice for women.—Yours faithfully,

A Post-Office Savings Bank Contributor for over Thirty Years.

June 10, 1913.

A PETITION TO THE KING

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors.—I would be obliged if you would publish this letter in your columns. I appeal to all right-thinking women and men to help me in bringing pressure to bear on the Government to pass a Bill giving votes to women. All constitutional methods having failed, Miss Emily Davison has given her life so that others may live as free citizens in a free country. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Let us see that her sacrifice be not in vain, or that others be not forced to do likewise. I would therefore suggest a great petition be sent to His Majesty, and to the Members of the Cabinet, praying that justice be done without any further sacrifice of life, so that the heroic action of this woman may be remembered as she would wish it to be, by granting women the Vote. "She hath done what she could." Let us lay aside all carping criticism and stand shoulder to shoulder in one great effort to win the battle against oppression, injustice, and tyranny. I should be glad of suggestions as to the best methods of carrying out this scheme. Those willing to help please write to me, when we can arrange a meeting to discuss the matter fully.—Yours, &c.,

(Miss) Leila G. Cadiz.

28, Ashfield Road, Ranelagh, Dublin.

THE ISLE OF MAN LEFT OUT

A correspondent writes to point out that we failed to include the Isle of Man in the list of enfranchised countries given by us in our cartoon last week. The House of Keys in the Isle of Man is elected by women as well as by men. We regret our omission the more since, as our correspondent truly adds, "Queen Victoria accepted the principle of Woman Suffrage when she gave her assent to this measure passed by the House of Keys."

THE WOMEN'S PILGRIMAGE

As we went to press this week the Women's Pilgrimage, organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, was already starting from the North of England on its way to London, where the final demonstration will be held on Saturday, July 26, in Hyde Park, at 5 p.m. The Pilgrims, who started on June 18, will march up all the great roads into London, from Newcastle, from Carlisle, from Lands End, from Canterbury, from Southampton, and from East Anglia. Not every one will walk the whole way, but it is hoped that as many as possible will join the march for as long a period of time as possible. Meetings will be held in the towns all along the route, so an immense amount of propaganda should be done in the coming six weeks, culminating in the Hyde Park demonstration at the end of July. A map of the various routes to be followed, giving the dates at which the pilgrimage will touch the different places on the way, is to be published weekly in the *Common Cause*.

TAX RESISTANCE

The Women's Tax Resistance League report sales of goods belonging to three of their members. Miss Moncrieff, Mrs. Portrey, and Miss Helen Smith all had goods sold on account of non-payment of taxes. In each case a most successful meeting was held, and before the sale of Mrs. Portrey's goods at Harrow a Garden Party was given by Mrs. Huntsman, of the Women's Freedom League, and the procession to the auction room started from her house, it being a joint demonstration of the Tax Resistance and Freedom Leagues.

PENAL REFORM FOR WOMEN OFFENDERS

A private Conference convened by the Committee of the Penal Reform League will be held in London on June 24, with the Rev. W. F. Cobb, D.D., in the chair. Captain Arthur St. John, Honorary Secretary of the League, will open a discussion on "Women Prisoners: From Arrest to Rehabilitation," in which several interesting points will be raised. Of these, some of the most suggestive deal with the appointment of women magistrates, with women's courts, women police, all night courts, places of detention for women in charge of women who are selected by women, a college of redemption and rehabilitation, and other penal reforms of the kind. The suggestion will be made that two special memorials should be drawn up: (1) Against the sentence "ten shillings or fourteen days"; (2) in favour of special "lock-ups" for women.

Suffragists, especially militant suffragists who know how urgently penal reforms are needed, welcome every sign of activity in this direction. At the same time they cannot help feeling that our prison system would not be the gross, inhuman thing it is if women had had a share before now in the conduct of public affairs, and that no suggested reform stands much chance of being effectively accomplished until women are given their political rights.

PUNISHMENTS THAT DO NOT FIT THE CRIME

The Human Person

We have repeatedly drawn attention to the light punishments that are undergone for inhuman crimes against children, as compared with those that are imposed for crimes against property. At the present moment, when a woman is fighting through a sentence of three years' penal servitude for breaking the law that protects property with intent to alter this pernicious standard of public opinion, the case of the man who received only eighteen months' hard labour at Plymouth recently for a series of horrible assaults upon little girls is calculated to rouse Suffragists of every shade of opinion. It is true that this is quite a severe sentence compared with the average punishment given to this class of offender, many of whom, especially if well-to-do, escape with being bound over. But in comparison with the severe sentences imposed upon Suffragists whose motives are universally acknowledged to be pure, it stands out as another instance of the greater importance attached by the State to the rights of property than is attached to the rights of the human person. For, according to a correspondent in the *Western Evening Herald*, the Plymouth criminal "had for some months made the life of parents in Prince Rock and Beaumont Park a misery," before he was found and captured through the efforts of an inspector of the N.S.P.C.C. When both parents have votes we do not think that (1) such a man will be allowed to pursue his abominable practices for months uncaptured; (2) that it will be necessary for the official of a private Society to do the work of the police; or (3) that eighteen months will be considered a sufficient punishment for a miscreant of this sort in a country where, as happened this week, Suffragists are given sentences up to 21 months for inciting (in a great moral cause) to damages to property.

Cruelty to Children

Nor is brutal cruelty to children punished with anything like the severity shown towards Suffragists who injure property in order to draw attention to a great wrong. The *Child's Guardian* (June) gives two cases that show this. In one, a man was sent to prison for three months for beating a child with such ferocity that she had bruises all over her body, blackened eyelids, and a wounded lip. In the other instance, two months was the sentence passed on a man who tied a boy's hands with rope, thrashed him with his belt, and then stripped him and locked him up in a dark cupboard, where he remained all day before he managed to make his escape. The boy was only ten years old.

Savage Assaults Upon Wives

The *Glasgow News*, in its issue of June 4, gives two shocking instances of light sentences passed on men for assaulting their wives. In one, the man injured his wife so severely that she was at first thought to be dying; the doctor found her with her tongue hanging out, and practically unable to speak; her hands were swollen, and she was a mass of bruises. *Bailie Smith sent the man to prison for 60 days.*

In the second case, husband and wife were living apart, and the man went to his wife's house, broke six panes of glass in the windows, smashed in the panel of the door, and then assaulted her. There were fifteen previous convictions against him for assault. *He, too, was sent to prison for 60 days only.* Apparently, even damage to property is not severely punished—when it is only a wife's property.

We need not remind our readers of the kind of sentences that have been passed upon militant suffragists for breaking a few shillingsworth of glass — and with admittedly pure motives.

THE COMMENTS OF "TRUTH"

We notice that *Truth* does not agree with what we say on these matters. "If it were said," argues our contemporary, "that such aberrations of magistrates are an argument for appointing women to administer the law, there might be some force in the argument, though personally I regard it as an argument for having the law administered by lawyers or other experts who understand it, instead of by amateurs. But when it is said, as my feminine contemporary says, that the faults of magistrate are 'an instance of the low status of women in the eyes of the English law,' and that the remedy is to give women votes, we seem to hear the babbling of a mind incapable of connecting cause and effect or drawing logical conclusions from the most simple premisses. It is because women so frequently think and talk in this peculiar way that *Truth* does not believe in their enfranchisement."

Our Comment on "Truth"

Of the logic contained in our masculine contemporary's final reason for refusing women the vote we have nothing to say, because we gather from what goes before that *Truth* does not attach great weight to our power of drawing logical conclusions. With regard to the rest of *Truth's* comments, we can only repeat what still appears to us unanswerable, that if women had the status that goes with the full possession of citizen rights, public opinion would not allow magistrates so to administer the law that it would be possible for wife-beaters to get off with light sentences while assaults upon men are punished with severe sentences; further, that the disregard of the sacredness of the persons of women, young girls, and little children, in the face of an overweening regard for the sacredness of property (which is shown by the light sentences given for gross assault and the heavy sentences given for petty theft or window breaking), points to a false public standard of values that we firmly believe would be readjusted and improved if women had the political power to affect legislation and the increased public influence that would be theirs if they were placed on a political equality with men.

IN THE PRESS

DOING ABSOLUTELY NOTHING

While these words are being written some women are serving sentences; several women and men (one of them an ex-M.P.) are about to be tried as conspirators; a whole-souled champion of the women's cause is being proceeded against in the Bankruptcy Court; one woman is lying in a precarious condition because she would sooner die of voluntary starvation than recognise the authority of the law which her sex is allowed to have no part in making; another has laid down her life believing that to be the only way to make the nation pause and think. One would think that in face of such occurrences as these in a partially civilised and nominally Christian country the nation in general and its legislators in particular would address themselves directly to so extraordinary and grave a situation, even, if necessary, at the cost of putting other matters aside for the time being. As a fact, at this moment nothing is being done to deal with the root of the trouble—absolutely nothing. . . . . Judging by their actions, or rather inaction, no assembly of men could be more callous than the present House of Commons, in face of a national crisis. The only way to end the agitation and to prevent the needless sacrifice and waste now taking place is to give women the vote.—**Christian Commonwealth.**

A SYMPATHETIC RESOLUTION

The following resolution, given by the *Standard* as "an instance of mistaken sympathy for militant methods,' was passed last Friday by the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies:—

"That this Federated Council of Suffrage Societies wishes to express its strong appreciation of the brave act of Miss Emily Davison in giving the supreme sacrifice of her life for a great cause."

MISS DENNIS

Miss Dennis (said to be Miss Lenton), who gave evidence at Doncaster on June 9 that she and not the defendant in the dock had set a certain house on fire, and was committed for trial at the Leeds Assizes, was released from Armley Gaol on June 17 after a seven days' hunger-strike.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 "
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 "
*Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 "
Mr. Donald M'Ewan	May 19	9 "
Miss Margaret Scott	June 16	1 month
Mr. E. G. Clayton	June 17	21 months
Miss Annie Kenney	"	18 "
Mrs. Sanders	"	15 "
Miss Kerr	"	12 "
Miss Barrett	"	9 "
Miss Lennox	"	6 "
Miss Lake	"	6 "
Mrs. Hyde	June 18	14 days
Miss Bunten	"	14 "

* One month of the sentence commuted.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

The coming week will be marked by the opening of the new room in Park Mansions Arcade, on the 24th. This in itself is evidence of the growth and development of the society. It shows, moreover, the confidence felt by the committee that the Society is going to maintain its present rate of expansion. The names of the speakers alone should guarantee a large rally on the occasion of the opening.

The plans for the entertainment on the 25th are now well advanced; arrangements have been made to run brakes during the afternoon from Hampstead Tube Station to Lord Byron's house. This chance of enjoying a first-class entertainment in the beautiful gardens of Byron Cottage should not be missed by any of our readers. The entertainment opens at 3 p.m. and closes at 7 p.m.

Miss Frye made the fullest use of her short visit to Norfolk. Two garden meetings in Dereham were addressed by Mrs. Merivale Mayer, who presided at a most sympathetic public meeting held in the Assembly Rooms. We have staunch supporters in Dereham. The branch is growing, and will have an effect upon the wide surrounding district. Fifty copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold in Dereham alone.

At Fakenham, on the 9th, there was a crowded public meeting in the Assembly Rooms. Here a number of youths in Territorial uniforms had so little sense of the dignity of the King's uniform as to attempt to drown the speeches by foolish noises. Several new members joined after the meeting, and it is hoped that a new branch may be formed in Fakenham as a centre of influence in N.W. Norfolk.

FUTURE MEETINGS.

Sunday, June 22, 12 o'clock, Hyde Park.
Tuesday, June 24, 3 o'clock, **Opening of New Premises in Park Mansions Arcade** by Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Speakers, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mr. Laurence Housman. Chair, Mrs. Hartley.
Wednesday, June 25, 3. **Entertainment** Byron Cottage, Hampstead Heath (near Bull and Bush). Old music and dancing. Miss Margaret Morris and her dancing children, Misses Kate and Mabel Chaplin, Miss Florence Moss, Miss May Mukle. Side shows.

◆

COMING EVENTS

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a Public Reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday) from 3.30—6.15. Speakers: Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Clementina Black, and others.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a meeting in the Victoria Park each Saturday afternoon at 4 p.m. June 21—speakers: Mrs. Davies and others.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 25, at 3.30 p.m., when the Rev. W. M. Weston, D.D., will speak on "The Economic Independence of Women in Relation to the Marriage Question." The League also announce a meeting at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on June 30, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Perkins Gilman. Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s.

An entertainment in aid of the New Constitutional Society will be held, by permission of Lord and Lady Byron, at Byron Cottage, Hampstead Heath, on June 25, 3.15 to 7 p.m. Old music and dancing in the open-air and a variety of side shows. Admission, 5s. (including tea); tickets obtainable from the N.C.S.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold a meeting at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on June 26 at 8.30 p.m., when Mrs. Perkins Gilman will speak on "The Social Conscience." Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s., obtainable from Miss Bell, 35, Abercorn Place, N.W.

At the Suffrage Club on Sunday, June 29, at 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Perkins Gilman will speak on 'Homekeeping versus Motherhood." Tickets 2s.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold a meeting in the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Friday, July 4; reception 8 p.m., speeches 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Neal, and Rev. F. M. Green. Admission by ticket, obtainable by Fellows only.

The Actresses' Franchise League, with the Divorce Law Reform Union, will hold a meeting at the Portman Rooms on July 4, at 3 p.m., on "The Reform of the Divorce Law." Speakers: Mr. Plowden, Madame Lydia Yavorska, and others. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s., from the A.F.L. and the Divorce Law Reform Union.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, June 12.—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Phillimore, W.S.P.U. Conspiracy Trial; adjourned. (See page 560.)

Friday, June 13.—At the Old Bailey, W.S.P.U. Conspiracy Trial; adjourned till Tuesday.

Saturday, June 14.—At the Kingston Police Court, charged with setting fire to buildings at Hurst Park racecourse, Miss Kitty Marion and Miss Clara Giveen; adjourned till to-morrow (Saturday); bail allowed, defendants in £2,000 each and one surety each of £1,000. (Charge of loitering brought against them at Richmond on June 10 withdrawn on Monday, June 16, in view of the graver charge.)

Monday, June 16.—At the Bow Street Police Station, charged with breaking a window at the Colonial Office with a half-brick, Miss Margaret Scott; fined 40s. and 40s. damages, or one month, fine not paid.

In the King's Bench Division, before Mr. Justice Coleridge, action by West End Clothiers Company, Ltd., and 92 other plaintiffs, against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, for £1,423 damages for broken windows. Action not defended in view of recent decision in same Court. Damages awarded. (See page 558.)

Tuesday, June 17.—At the Old Bailey, W.S.P.U. Conspiracy Trial. (For sentences see page 561.)

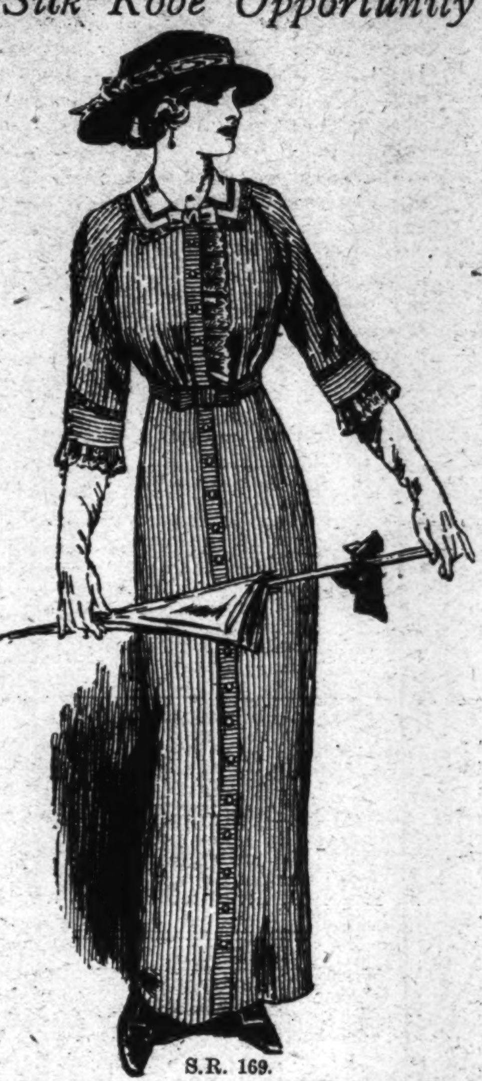
Wednesday, June 18.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell, charged with obstructing the traffic and the police, Mrs. Hyde and Miss Bunten; fined 40s. each or 14 days; fine not paid.

◆

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Woman Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

Silk Robe Opportunity



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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organising Secretory, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, June 20, Westminster Palace Hotel, 3.30-6.15. Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Marshall, Miss Clementina Black, Miss Emily Hill, Mr. Cholmeley.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 25, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: The Rev. W. M. Weston, D.D., Ph.D., on "The Economic Independence of Women in Relation to the Marriage Question"; and others. Admission free.

AT THE SUFFRAGE CLUB, 3, York Street, St. James's, S.W., on Sunday, June 29, at 8.30 p.m. Mrs. Perkins Gilman will speak on "Homekeeping versus Motherhood." Tickets, including light refreshments, 2s.

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BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s.; close Baker Street Underground and Tube; bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone: 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel.. 1702.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

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FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

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HALF-HOUSE TO LET, furnished or unfurnished; view of sea, lovely garden; low rent.—M., Wraxhall, Hadleigh, Essex.

HOVE, Sackville Road. Furnished house to let, June and July; 2 sitting, 6 bedrooms, kitchen (no basement), gas cooker, geyser; 5 minutes sea, 7 minutes station; cheap season ticket; family bathing tent and "pitch"; 2 to 3 guineas.—2, Thickett Road, Anerley, S.E.

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NEAR CLOVELLY.—Comfortable Seaside Cottage to let, June, July; 2 living, 4 bedrooms, bath; very quiet; good bathing.—Lady Maude Whyte, Bideford.

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STUDIO (etcher's) or Sitting-room, Bedroom, kitchen; lady; gas and electric light; 16s. weekly; Gloucester Road.—Letters only, Miss Hughes, 15, Onslow Gardens, S.W.

THE NEST, WEST MALVERN.—To be let, furnished, for some months, or a shorter period; a pretty cottage; 5 rooms; beautiful views; gas, water, every convenience; quiet situation; good motor service; terms moderate. — Apply to M., above address.

WORTHING.—Sitting-Room and Bedroom, near sea; good cooking; bath; suit two friends or married couple; permanency or otherwise.—Griffith, Martlesham, Lyndhurst Road.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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